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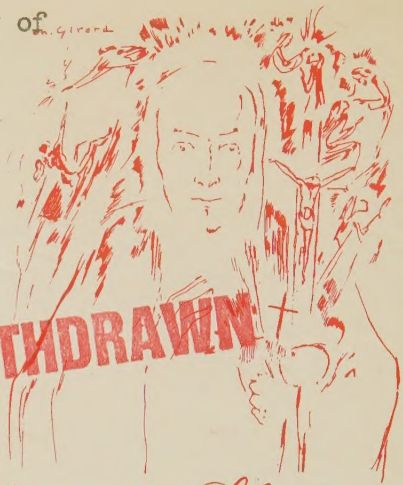

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A SHORT HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT PEOPLES

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A SHORT HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT PEOPLES

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE

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LONDON

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27 PATERNOSTER ROW

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The kindness of Professor Sayce in writing so valuable an introduction to my book makes a long preface unnecessary. A few words of explanation will suffice.

The history of the Ancients is, owing to exploring zeal, becoming more interesting every day. But, in order to study it, access must be had to so wide a field of literature that few have either time or opportunity to attempt it. The present work aims at giving the main facts of ancient history in one volume, and thus bringing them within the reach of all. This necessitates brevity, but, as far as possible, concentration has been arrived at, not by omitting important facts, but by omitting matter not strictly historical, which yet finds a place in most ancient histories.

That the history of each people might be complete in itself, a certain amount of repetition has been necessary. A choice had to be made between repetition and history by reference, and it was believed that readers would prefer the former.

Of course, in connection with so wide a subject, no claim can be laid to original research. Every effort has been made to obtain the most recent

information from the writings of others. The List of Authorities mentions the principal works consulted, and will be useful to those who wish to read more widely on any particular line.

For acts of personal kindness I may perhaps be permitted to mention the President of Trinity College, Oxford; Professor Sayce; and Professor Flinders Petrie. The President of Trinity and Professor Sayce were kind enough to scan certain of my proof sheets, and to make valuable suggestions, of which I gladly availed myself.

For the added favour of the introduction by Professor Sayce I would again express my sincere thanks.

ROBINSON SOUTTAR.

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INTRODUCTION

It is only the older ones among us who are able to realise the profound change which the Oriental discoveries of the last half century have effected in our conceptions of the history of civilised man. It is not so long since the history of culture and civilisation was believed to begin with the literature of classical Greece. The Oriental civilisations of an earlier date were hardly recognised as civilisations at all, much less as civilisations possessed of a true culture ; they were commonly looked upon as mere incarnations of brute force concentrated in the hands of a few. A knowledge of the art of writing was, indeed, grudgingly granted to the Egyptians and Babylonians, but the possession of a literature was denied to them, and, still more, a literary culture of an extended nature. In the case of the Hebrews, it is true, the most stubborn sceptics were compelled to admit that a literature existed ; but it was considered a unique and extraordinary fact, which it was necessary to minimise as much as possible.

To-day all this is changed. The East is yielding up its dead, and we are beginning to learn that the ancient Oriental world was, after all, not so very

unlike our own. We know now that Egypt and Babylonia and Assyria enjoyed a culture and civilisation of high order long centuries before Herodotus or even Homer, and that the elements of Greek culture itself were derived from the East. We can never return to the old complacent belief that Europe was the primal home and cradle of cultivated man, or that between the ancient Oriental world and the world of European thought and literature lies a deep and impassable gulf. If modern Oriental research has taught us nothing else, it has at least taught us that literary culture is immensely old in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile. It has shown that the civilisation and culture of to-day are not the first the world has seen ; that in the days of Moses education and literary activity were as fully developed as they were in the days of our immediate forefathers, and that in still earlier ages books were read and written, the law was codified, libraries established, and the Arts and Sciences studied and known. The lesson our vanity has received at the hands of astronomy and geology has thus been enforced by Oriental archæology : as man and his earth are not the centre of the Universe, for whom alone the orbs of heaven were made, and the plants and animals created, so, too, we of the nineteenth century are not the first and exclusive possessors of culture and science. The more we know of the civilisations of the past, the more are they seen to resemble our own ; whatever progress there may have been in

certain branches of knowledge, and, above all, in their material application, in the general elements of culture, in the arts of life and the organisation of society we have made but little advance upon the educated classes of ancient Egypt or Babylonia.

All this has come upon us with the force of a new revelation. Dr. Souttar very pertinently recalls the fact that "to our grandfathers both Egyptian history and the Egyptian language were almost sealed books". And what is true of Egypt is still more true of Assyria and Babylonia. We knew nothing, or next to nothing, of the marvellous civilisations which archæology is unfolding to our gaze: beyond the limits of Greek classical history and the Old Testament records all was darkness and fable.

It is a new world, therefore, which modern discovery and research have disclosed to our eyes. Our ideas of the past have been entirely revolutionised, our conception of the debt we owe to our civilised forefathers has been altogether changed—the problems presented by the history of culture or religion have been put under a new light, and the history of civilised man has had to be rewritten.

To make this revised history of man accessible to as wide a circle of readers as possible has been Dr. Souttar's aim in the present work. Ancient oriental history is not only the introduction to ancient European history: we now know that the one cannot be understood without the other. Greece and Rome were the heirs of Egypt and Babylonia,

and of that highly advanced art and civilisation which recent excavations in Krete are bringing to light.

It is true that we are still, as it were, in the midst of discoveries. Archæology is a science, and, like other sciences, must be continually progressing. New facts are constantly being discovered, supplementing or correcting the results already obtained.

And just now the new facts are multiplying with embarrassing rapidity. The excavator is busily at work in Egypt and Babylonia, in Canaan and Krete, and almost every month brings with it a fresh archæological discovery. In Egypt the tombs have been found of the earlier dynasties, whose monuments seemed to have perished utterly, and whose very existence was doubted by "criticism" but a few years since. But the royal sepulchres of Abydos have shown that the Egypt of Menes, the founder of the united monarchy, was already as far advanced as the Egypt of the Fourth Dynasty: art was highly developed, grandiose engineering and architectural works were constructed, and the hieroglyphic system of writing not only possessed an alphabet, but had degenerated into a cursive hand. On the rocks of Sinai the name of the seventh successor of Menes has been deciphered, accompanying the figure of the Pharaoh as he strikes down the Bedawin of the Peninsula, and superintends the opening of its copper mines. The tomb of Menes himself has been excavated, and the

vases of obsidian from the distant island of Melos, which had been deposited in it, are now in the Museum of Cairo. Even the chronological register of the early dynasties has been found. Year after year was duly chronicled, as in Babylonia, with the leading events which had characterised each, the days and months of the royal reigns being noted as well as the years, together with the annual height of the Nile. A fragment of a copy of the state annals, compiled in the age of the Fifth Dynasty, is now in the Museum at Palermo.

In Babylonia a code of laws has come to light, eight centuries older than that of Moses. It was drawn up by Khammurabi, or Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham, and embodied the decisions of the royal judges in the various cases which for unnumbered generations had been brought before them. The particular copy of the code now to be seen in the Louvre was found in 1902 by M. de Morgan among the ruins of Susa, to which it had been carried as a trophy by an Elamite invader of Babylonia. The code testifies to the existence of a highly-organised and long-established society, and to respect for property and law. Unlike the Mosaic code with its background of blood revenge and the right of the individual to avenge himself, the code of Khammurabi presupposes a monarchy in which the passions of the individual have been subordinated to the law. Notice is taken even of the operations of the surgeon and veterinary; if they

are successful the amount of the fee is fixed, if they result in death or blindness the unskilful practitioner has to submit to punishment.

But it is from Krete that the most startling revelations have come. The excavations of Dr. Evans and others have shown that before the age of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, what was afterwards the Greek world was already enjoying a large measure of culture and civilisation. In the bloom of the "Mykenæan" period, which came to an end about the time of the Israelitish Exodus, the art of Krete and the neighbouring lands was strangely modern. Magnificent palaces were built with frescoed walls and floors, and even the ordinary houses of the city were built in storeys, and provided with windows like those of our own day. At least three different systems of writing were in use, the very existence of which was not even suspected but a few years ago, and the gem-cutter's art had attained a perfection which was never surpassed in the palmy days of classical Greece. In fact, it is now clear that classical Greek art itself, instead of springing full-grown into life, was as much a renaissance as the European renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The art of Pheidias had its true source in the art of the cultured "Mykenæans".

And as in Egypt and Babylonia, so too in Krete the discoveries of archæology have confirmed the traditions which an over-hasty criticism had cast aside. The palace of Minos has been found again,

even the Minotaur is proved to have had an existence in fact, and the empire of the sea, which later Greek story ascribed to the ruler of Knossos, has been fully vindicated. Ancient history is, in truth, being re-made in our day, and from time to time it is needful to take stock of the knowledge of it which we have thus far acquired, and to place it before the world. This is the task which Dr. Souttar has set himself to do. He has had recourse to the latest and best authorities, and has given the facts with judgment and lucidity.

A. H. SAYCE.

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Atlas Antiquus . . . . . *Sieglin (Gotha: Justus Perthes).*

EGYPT.

TABLE OF DYNASTIES.

	DYNASTY.	CAPITAL.	DATE.
		OLD KINGDOM.	B.C.
1	Egyptian.	This.	
2	,,	This.	
3	,,	Memphis.	
4	,,	Memphis	4000
5	,,	Memphis.	
6	,,	Elephantiné.	
7	,,	Memphis.	
8	,,	Memphis.	
9	,,	Heracleopolis.	
10	,,	Heracleopolis . . .	3000
11	,,	Thebes.	
		MIDDLE KINGDOM.	
12	Egyptian.	Thebes.	
13	,,	Thebes.	
14	,,	Xois.	
		HYKSOS.	
15, 16	Asiatic.	Tanis (Zoan) . . .	2000
		NEW KINGDOM.	
17	Egyptian.	Thebes	1738
18	,,	Thebes	1587
19	,,	Thebes	1327
20	,,	Thebes	1181
21	,,	Tanis	1060
22	,,	Bubastis.	945
23	,,	Tanis	810
24	,,	Sais	721
25	Ethiopian.	Thebes	715
26	Egyptian.	Sais	664
27	Persian domination for two centuries including sixty-five years during which native dynasties 28, 29 and 30 ruled.		525
	Macedonian Rule		332
	The Ptolemies		323
	Egypt a Roman Province		30

ECYPT
IN ITS RELATION TO
THE ANCIENT WORLD.

EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

EGYPT is the name of that country which stretches from the Mediterranean southward along the western shore of the Red Sea and is bisected from north to south by the Nile. As the river approaches the Mediterranean it divides into many channels, forming a network of rivers and canals, so that this part, called Lower Egypt or the Delta, is well-watered and fertile throughout. The Delta is indeed the creation of the Nile—an encroachment on the Mediterranean formed by the soil which is washed down by the river in such abundance. Above Cairo, for many hundreds of miles, the Nile flows in a single stream between parallel ranges of bare and barren hills, and as the country is entirely dependent on the river for its fertility, Upper Egypt is for practical purposes little more than a strip of land of great length, but only from four to twelve miles wide. At Khartoum the river divides into two streams, "the Blue Nile," which receives its waters from the mountains of Abyssinia, and "the White Nile," which flows from the lakes and mountains of equatorial Africa. The thawing of the winter snow in the mountain ranges, together with the heavy rainfall in the spring, causes great floods to pour down these branches about the middle of the year. The flood of the Blue or Abyssinian Nile reaches Khartoum in the middle of May, and such is its volume and velocity that even after it has joined the White Nile its waters keep their colour and identity for 300 miles. Assouan or

Syene at the first cataract is reached by the flood early in June—Cairo about ten days later. The river is not allowed to spread over the valley at will but is carefully hemmed in by embankments, and every piece of arable land has its own ramification of canals and dykes. From the beginning of July public criers announce the condition of the river, and when it has reached a certain height, permission is given to break dykes and open sluices, after which the waters are guided by the inhabitants from enclosure to enclosure until Egypt has been transformed into a long, narrow lake, dotted with towns and villages, built on such elevated places as can be found. Southward, in the Soudan, the river reaches its full height in August, at Cairo in September, then it falls slowly, and by December has returned to its ordinary channel. The waters of the Nile are turbid, but in this turbidity lies their value, for as they sink they leave so rich a top dressing on the land that two or even three crops can be obtained every year. Thus with comparatively little labour the cultivator obtains a splendid return, and from the earliest times agriculture has been the chief source of Egyptian wealth.

The soil of Egypt is specially suitable for grain. Oats, wheat, barley, maize and rice grow in such abundance that the country was the granary of the ancient world. Vegetables also flourish, and it is easy to understand the longing of the Israelites when in the desert for "the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick". Dates, figs, oranges, lemons and vines also abound, and textile plants such as hemp, cotton and flax.

Egypt is not rich in trees; the sycamore and date palm grow freely, but most other trees die out unless cultivated with care.

Most Egyptian animals have been imported. The horse is thought to have been introduced about the time of the Hyksos' invasion—the camel still later. Neither the ox, goat, nor ass is of native origin, though all thrive well.

In early times the hippopotamus and crocodile were common

in Egypt, and were hunted by the wealthy even as far north as the Delta, but they have now retired—the hippopotamus to equatorial Africa, the crocodile above the second cataract. Birds are plentiful, and fish abound; unfortunately snakes and scorpions also abound, and insect life is of every variety, and in quantity beyond measure.

As all prosperity in Egypt depends on the river there is yearly great anxiety lest it should rise too little or too much. Too little would mean a poor harvest; too much, the destruction of valuable property. We need not wonder then that the Egyptians worshipped the river and had temples in every province to the Nile god.

We know little about the origin of the Egyptian people. The Bible tells us that the sons of Ham were "Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan". Cush may be taken as Ethiopia, Put as Libya, Canaan as Phœnicia, and Mizraim as Egypt. As to how the original inhabitants reached Egypt there is much difference of opinion—some thinking that they came from Asia by way of the Isthmus of Suez, some that they came from Mesopotamia skirting Arabia, crossing the Red Sea and thus reaching the Nile Valley, others that they as well as the other races of the ancient world, "are descended from a single family whose original seat was on the shores of the great lakes of equatorial Africa," and others that they came from the west, from the Mediterranean slope of the African continent. The weight of the evidence seems to be in favour of Asiatic origin, especially as "the oldest remains of Mesopotamian civilisation appear to exceed in antiquity any hitherto brought to light in Egypt".

The Egyptians were idolaters, and although they doubtless started with a conception of one Supreme Being, Lord of Heaven and Earth, they soon lost sight of this elementary doctrine. There were hundreds of gods in Egypt—each city having its patron deity, each family its favourite god. Certain animals and birds were sacred: the cow, cat and ibis throughout Egypt, the crocodile, hippopotamus and goat in specific localities.

At Memphis a bull called Apis, chosen by certain marks, was worshipped as an incarnation of the god Ptah; at Heliopolis another was worshipped as an incarnation of Ra; at Thebes Minu was worshipped in similar fashion, and at Hermonthis the god Montu. When a sacred bull died, he was buried with regal splendour, the country mourned and business was suspended until another had been found bearing the sacred marks.

Some part of the religious creed of the Egyptians was unexceptionable. They believed in the divine origin and immortality of the soul. They recognised that in this life man had to struggle against evil, and taught that his condition hereafter depended upon his actions here. But these simple truths were hidden under much superstition and mummery. As time went on, the kings also became objects of worship, both whilst they lived and after death—their pyramids being endowed that priests might pay divine honours to their memory.

From the earliest historic times until it became a Roman province Egypt had monarchical government. Next to the kings down to the age of the eighteenth dynasty came the nobles, having hereditary rights which modified the despotism of the Crown; next came the priests, often members of aristocratic families, controlling the temples with their rich endowments, then the military and official classes mostly drawn from the families of the aristocracy and priesthood, and enjoying many exemptions and privileges, and finally, under all and supporting all, the toiling masses upon whom the wealth of the country depended. All the way up the social ladder, stepping from class to class, every man acknowledged a superior, who, in exchange for service, obtained for his client such justice and protection as were to be had.

For convenience the country was divided into provinces or nomes. There were about forty of these, the number and boundaries varying from time to time; and the local administration was responsible amongst other things for rectifying the boundaries when altered by the frequent encroachments of the river.

Royal taxation was based on produce and was usually a tenth, but others besides the king claimed a share, so that the gross burdens were generally excessive and often collected with cruelty. There was also much forced labour on the king's lands, on the lands of the nobles, and in connection with the building of tombs and temples. Some of the Pharaohs, now esteemed great because they left masses of masonry behind them, were brutal tyrants, and their names were execrated by the Egyptian people.

Though the life of the humbler classes in Egypt left much to be desired, it is noteworthy that there was no impassable barrier between the orders such as exists in countries where caste prevails. Education, both primary and secondary, was open to all, and though the young aristocrat naturally started with an advantage, yet the son of the poor man might distance him if he showed greater merit. Indeed we find in Egypt a spirit all too rare, by which humility of origin is held to redound to one's credit, the fact that a man's ancestors were not known to history being noted on his monument as matter for proper pride.

Egypt must always be famous for its unique treatment of the dead. Of course poor people buried their dead in the sand in the ordinary way, and foreigners had their own methods of burial, but the bodies of wealthy Egyptians were treated very elaborately. First they were embalmed, then swathed in linen, over this a preparation of pasteboard was placed, the shape of the face and hands being retained; next came a casing of wood, and then a stone sarcophagus. The tomb might be for one only, or it might be a family vault sufficing for several generations and having a chamber where the pious might pray for the repose of the dead. The respect shown to the dead was a commendable feature in Egyptian character, and to the fact that Egypt became by virtue of this custom one long cemetery we owe much of our knowledge of her ancient history.

The greatest of Egyptian historians was Manetho, who

wrote in the reigns of the first Ptolemies. His works are lost, but fragments survive in the books of other writers, and from these lists of the kings have been compiled. The names of many kings mentioned by Manetho have also been found upon monuments so that as regards mere names we have a good deal of information. When we come to the question of chronology, however, there is much difficulty, for Manetho, working from material which must have been meagre at the best, attempted to tabulate the dynasties for thousands of years—an impossible task. Modern historians have gone to infinite trouble to fix dates for the various dynasties, and they are now fairly well ascertained for fifteen centuries before the Christian era. Prior to that time they can only be looked upon as approximative.

Like most nations the Egyptians prefaced history with mythology, dynasties of gods, demigods and heroes filling up the blank of prehistoric time. Even when we emerge from manifest fable and come to those dynasties of Manetho which are apparently historic, we have scarcely any information concerning the first three, though they are said to have covered a period of nearly 1000 years. Fragmentary remains of this early period have been found, but for historic purposes we must begin Egyptian history with the fourth dynasty. At the same time, the fact of political organisation, the existence of writing, and the character of the monuments make it clear that Egypt at the beginning of the fourth dynasty was not in her infancy as a state.

It is interesting to remember that to our grandfathers both Egyptian history and the Egyptian language were almost sealed books. Just a century ago a monument was discovered known as the Rosetta stone, upon which there was a trilingual inscription, one of the languages being Greek. Analysing the second transcript, Akerblad, a Swede, in 1802 built up a portion of what we now know to have been the alphabet of the later running hand. Some years after Thomas Young identified the names of Ptolemy and Berenice in the

hieroglyphic portion of the inscription. Then Champollion took up the work and having identified the name of Cleopatra on an obelisk, by a careful comparison of the text on the obelisk with that on the Rosetta stone made a great advance. He died in 1831 and Egyptology was depressed for a time. The discoveries of Rawlinson and Layard gave a fresh impulse to Oriental study, and during the last few years wonderful progress has been made. At the beginning of the century Egyptian was an unknown language, now there are twenty professors teaching it in the universities of Europe and America. Assyriology is also receiving much attention, and every year adds to our knowledge of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD KINGDOM—DYNASTIES I-XI.

DYNASTY IV.—*The Pyramid Builders: Sneferu, Khufu, Khafra, Menkaura.*

The title of Pharaoh, "Great House," was given by the Egyptians to their successive kings. The first concerning whom we have much historic certainty is Sneferu, of whom we have two relics—a pyramid at Medum, forty miles south of Cairo, and a rock tablet in the Sinaitic peninsula.

In early times when a Pharaoh ascended the throne he began preparing his tomb, which generally took the form of a pyramid. The pyramids of Gizeh—still the wonder of the world—were built by Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura, but one even more striking was erected by Sneferu. The Gizeh pyramids were designed in a way which shows that their full size must have been contemplated from the beginning, but Sneferu built the inner chamber first and then laid on layers of masonry until a sufficient size had been attained, when he placed a smooth casing over all. Around his pyramid are ranged tombs of his nobles and priests, and in one of these have been found two of the finest statues of antiquity—those of Rahotep, a royal official, and Nefert his wife. They are of painted limestone, and in excellence of workmanship and artistic expression are superior to work of a later age.

The rock tablet in the Sinaitic peninsula represents Sneferu in the act of striking a Bedouin with a club, the inscription giving the king's name and terming him vanquisher of a foreign

people. The Nile Valley was poor in metals, and the tablet proves that even in these early days the Egyptians were searching for the copper ore and precious stones which were to be found amongst the rocks of the Sinaitic peninsula.

The second king of the fourth dynasty was Khufu, better known as Cheops, whose pyramid at Gizeh is of vast size and said to contain more stone than any other single building in existence. The blocks are huge, and some of them were brought a considerable distance, the method adopted being to drag them on rollers across the ground to the river and then float them down on barges. The accuracy with which the stones have been cut and jointed, together with the way they have been transported and set in place, shows signs of extraordinary patience and not insignificant mechanical skill. Herodotus says the building of the pyramid occupied relays of 100,000 men for twenty years, and there is no reason to doubt his statement.

The successor of Cheops was Khafra, who built the second pyramid of Gizeh, which is of inferior workmanship to the first. A fine statue of this monarch stands in the museum at Gizeh carved out of diorite—the hardest of stone.

The third pyramid at Gizeh was built by Menkaura, and is much smaller than those built by his predecessors.

It has been the custom to measure the splendour of Cheops' imagination by the size of his pyramid, but it is likely that, having no standard to measure by, he had little conception of what he was undertaking when he began it, and having once begun was ashamed to leave it unfinished. His successors profited by his experience and designed their tombs on a more moderate scale. The custom of pyramid-building continued for centuries, but no monarch attempted to rival the early work, and the pyramids dwindled in size until at last the fashion of building them died away.

Beside the great pyramids at Gizeh lies the sphinx—a colossal image, having the body of a lion and the face of a man. It is carved on a huge rock, the shape of which doubtless

suggested the idea, and hollow places in the rock are filled with masonry. A stela found near the sphinx mentions the name of Khafra, but some writers have thought it is a forgery of the time of Psamatik.

The Pharaohs of the fifth dynasty are said to have been usurpers of priestly origin, and to have shown much favour to religious institutions. They were enterprising, working the mines in the Sinaitic peninsula, and trading down the coasts of the Red Sea. They also raided the south, carrying their arms as far as Wady Halfa and the second cataract in search of slaves and booty. One of the oldest known papyri, "The Prisse," is a copy of a work written in the reign of Dadkara, one of the later kings of this dynasty. It is entitled "The Proverbs of Ptahhetep," and the author was uncle and tutor to the king.

The monarchs of the sixth dynasty were yet more warlike and enterprising, inscriptions of its kings in all parts of Egypt testifying to their activity. Memphis had hitherto been the capital city, but these monarchs, pushing their conquests southward, preferred to reside at Elephantiné near the first cataract.

Teta, the founder of the dynasty, built a pyramid at Sakkara, inside which are inscriptions of the very greatest importance.

Pepy I., the third king of the dynasty, reigned long, and has left many memorials. He had the south so well under control that he could levy regiments of Soudanese to help him against the Bedouin of the Sinaitic peninsula. An interesting historical inscription belongs to his reign—the biography of Una, the prime minister. Beginning his career under Teta he rose from post to post, becoming secretary to Pepy I., and at length commander of an expedition against the Bedouin. In this capacity he raided the country of the king's enemies five times, cutting down the vines and fig-trees of the wretched people, slaughtering many and bringing back hosts of slaves.

On a tomb at Assouan there is a valuable biographical

inscription of the reigns of Merenra and Pepy II., the fourth and fifth kings of the dynasty. The inscription is in glorification of Herkhuf, successor to Una, and it tells of raids into the Soudan from which the Egyptians returned laden with spoil. Notwithstanding the bombastic language used in these inscriptions, they give the impression that the civilisation of that time was of a rudimentary character, and that the Egyptians after all were but a simple-minded folk.

During the reign of Pepy II. Egypt prospered, but after his death rivals strove for the throne and the dynasty had not a peaceful end. Herodotus says that one of the later kings was slain by conspirators, his queen Nitocris remaining on the throne. Determined on vengeance she built a subterranean banqueting hall connected by a secret conduit with the river, and having invited those implicated to a feast, she let in the river and drowned them all.

After the sixth dynasty there is a period of historical uncertainty—the country having evidently fallen upon troublous times. The central administration was weak, and the seat of government, which had returned from Elephantiné to Memphis, was driven southward to Heracleopolis, from which city the Pharaohs of the ninth and tenth dynasties governed such part of the country as remained loyal.

CHAPTER III.

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM—DYNASTIES XII-XIV.

During the period of confusion above described, when the Pharaohs had been driven southward and had enough to do to hold their own in Heracleopolis, the feudal princes, each governing his province, were practically independent and founded quasi-royal dynasties in their various cities. The weakening of the central power left the country at the mercy of its neighbours, and the Libyan desert tribes began to cluster round, squatting on the hill slopes and encroaching on the fertile lands of the Nile Valley wherever they got the chance.

The country being thus disorganised opportunity was given for some new dynasty to seize the reins of government. Now it happened that, whilst the rest of the country was weak, Thebes was gaining in strength. This city was so far south that it was not much affected by troubles in Northern Egypt, but yet occupied a commanding position. Being at this time under the rule of a powerful family, it revolted, and, the adjacent provinces joining the rebellion, Thebes triumphed and brought all Egypt under its sway.

The eleventh dynasty was the first that made Thebes its capital, and was partly contemporaneous with the tenth which had ruled at Heracleopolis. During this period there was a revival of the commercial spirit — ships were built, roads made, and trade routes established.

An inscription in the Valley of Hammamat, the ancient route from Koptos to the Red Sea, tells of an expedition undertaken to the land of Punt, the name given to the

country round the south end of the Sea. The expedition was for commercial purposes and brought back many products.

The eleventh dynasty was of service to Egypt, but towards its close the feudal chiefs again became too strong for the central power, and a firmer hand was needed if the Pharaoh was to be supreme. The kings of the twelfth dynasty proved equal to the occasion.

DYNASTY XII.—*Amenemhat I., Usertesen I., Amenemhat II., Usertesen II., Usertesen III., Amenemhat III., Amenemhat IV., Sebekneferu.*

The second Theban and twelfth Egyptian dynasty was of high importance. Its founder Amenemhat I. was not of royal descent, but proved an excellent ruler, restoring cities and temples, repressing crime, fixing the boundaries of the nomes, and readjusting taxation. Finding Thebes to be inconveniently situated, he built a royal residence for himself farther north at Dahshur, near Memphis. His vigorous administration raised up enemies, and as a precaution he allied his son with him in the sovereignty. This son, Usertesen I., was a warrior and was fighting the Libyan tribes when his father died. To guard against usurpation he left the camp secretly and hastened home, but the fact that he had been allied with his father prevented any complication.

There is a papyrus extant relating the adventures of Sanehat, a contemporary of Usertesen I., who was in the camp when the news of Amenemhat's death came. Having been mixed up in a plot against the king and fearing that he might be put to death, he fled to Syria, where he passed several years, but was eventually permitted to return to Egypt, and had leisure to write an autobiography.

There was peace between Egypt and Asia at this time, and merchants could travel in safety, so that trade developed. The better to secure the country against Bedouin raids, a line of forts was built across the isthmus of Suez, the northern frontier of Egypt. In the south there were repeated cam-

paigns against the native tribes and the country was brought under administration as far as Wady Halfa, where Amenemhat III. erected forts, and fixed a Nilometer in order that his officers might watch the state of the river. The country south of Wady Halfa, comprising the districts stretching to Dongola, perhaps to Berber, and called Cush, was raided unscrupulously by the kings of this dynasty, particularly by Usertesen III., who harried and plundered the natives without mercy. Nevertheless Egypt herself prospered under the dynasty, and was content.

Amenemhat III. was famous for engineering works carried out at Lake Moeris in the province of the Fayum. There is a hollow here into which water passes from the Nile, thus creating an oasis, and Amenemhat I. had brought some of the surrounding country under cultivation. Amenemhat III. went further, adding about 20,000 acres to the fertile land of the oasis.

Under the twelfth dynasty therefore Egypt flourished. There seems also to have been substantial advancement at this time in architecture, sculpture and literature. A hymn written in praise of Usertesen III. is a good example of Egyptian poetry. A few lines will suffice to show its character:—

> He has come, he has ruled Egypt,
> He has placed the desert in his power.
> He has come, he has trampled on the nations,
> He has smitten the Anu, who knew not his terror.
> He has come, we bring up our children,
> We bury the aged by his good favour.

The kings of the twelfth dynasty had for a time abandoned Thebes, fixing their residence nearer the Delta, but conquest and extension of frontier towards the south revived the importance of the southern city; and, when the twelfth dynasty failed, the sceptre again fell into the hands of the Theban lords, and Thebes became the capital of Egypt once more.

Little is known of the thirteenth dynasty, but Egypt seems to have been fairly prosperous under it, and some of its sovereigns must have ruled over the whole land, for one has left statues of himself at Tanis and Bubastis in the Delta, as well as at Thebes. During this dynasty the Hyksos invasion began, and its later kings must have had a constant struggle with the foreign enemy.

If the thirteenth dynasty is obscure, the fourteenth is yet more shadowy. Their seat of government was at Xois, in the Western Delta—the Eastern being under the government of the Hyksos. How the power of the native kings shifted from Thebes to Xois we do not know; but the Hyksos had gained the supremacy, and Xois was perhaps the last stronghold of the native administration. Professor Flinders Petrie thinks that the so-called kings of the fourteenth dynasty were "merely the puppets of the Hyksos power—the heads of the native administration which was maintained for taxing purposes".

CHAPTER IV.

THE HYKSOS.

Circa 2000. We come now to a period during which Egypt was under the power of Asiatics who invaded the country in overwhelming numbers, and settled in the Delta, ruling Egypt for several centuries before they were driven out by the kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties.

Professor Sayce has suggested that these invaders, who were known as the Hyksos, came from Elam, and were of the same race as those who descended upon Babylonia and founded a dynasty there, the same movement perhaps sending some into Babylonia and others into Egypt. Or, since experience has shown that one racial migration has generally caused others, it may be that the tribes dwelling in Syria and Northern Arabia, pressed hard by the Babylonians, who were themselves pressed by the Elamites, became invaders in their turn, and, encouraged by the feebleness of the Egyptian government of that time, swept down like locusts upon the tempting valley of the Nile. The Eastern Delta was soon conquered, but the Thebans fought vigorously, and a stand may also have been made in the Western Delta for a time. At last all yielded, and Salatis, the leader of the Asiatics, was recognised as king. After the first severities of the invasion, the Hyksos fell in with the habits of the people, governed through the old agencies in great part and respected religious prejudices. Zoan was chosen as their capital, and farther east, at Avaris, a huge, fortified camp was constructed which served the double purpose of protecting their eastern frontier and training troops for keeping

Egypt in subjection. The Hyksos doubtless overran the whole country, for traces of them have been found south of Thebes, but their influence was probably more directly felt in Lower Egypt, and so long as the inhabitants of the upper provinces were submissive and paid tribute regularly they were left in the enjoyment of much local freedom.

The Hyksos' period has a special interest, because during it the Hebrews appear upon the scene. Early in the period it seems likely that Abraham visited Egypt. The court was at Zoan, and therefore quite accessible from the Syrian side, and the fact that the rulers were Asiatics, and perhaps of the same race as Abraham, accounts for their friendly reception of him. Some generations afterwards when Joseph was brought as a slave to Egypt the Hyksos still ruled, and the Pharaoh who showed him so much kindness must have been one of the later kings of their dynasty. The land of Goshen in which Joseph's brethren were permitted to settle was south of Zoan, at the mouth of the valley now traversed by the railway between Ismailia and Zagazig. The statement that every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians cannot be explained by the fact that Egypt had groaned under the tyranny of shepherd kings, seeing that Joseph's patron was himself one of that dynasty. It probably means no more than that the Egyptians, being averse to pastoral occupation, left the care of the cattle to the lowest orders of the people.

Though all Egypt was under the Hyksos, their rule was most felt in the Delta, and the princes of Thebes never quite lost their independence. Gradually therefore the patriotic party rallied round them, and revolt began.

The expulsion of the alien rulers was finally accomplished by the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, but the kings of the seventeenth have the credit of beginning the struggle. These kings appear to have had dark blood in their veins, and may have descended from some branch of the ancient royal family that had taken refuge in the south to escape from the

invaders. The seventeenth dynasty was contemporaneous with the Hyksos, the revolt spreading slowly from the south into Upper Egypt, then into Lower Egypt and finally into the Delta. So slow indeed was the process of expulsion that it must have been owing as much to the natural decay of the Hyksos power as to the valour of the Egyptians.

The story of the final effort is told by an Egyptian officer named Ahmes, from whose autobiography we learn that Ahmes I., the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, defeated the Hyksos army in battle, captured their last stronghold in Egypt and chased them over the frontier even into Canaan. One or two efforts were made by the Hyksos to recover their position, but they were soon crushed out. But, although their army had been expelled, the invading race could not now be rooted out of Egypt; for, during the centuries which had passed, there had been much intermarrying with the earlier inhabitants, and the permanent influence of the Asiatics upon the country must have been considerable.

CHAPTER V.

AN ASIATIC EMPIRE.

DYNASTY XVIII.—*Ahmes, Amenhotep I., Thothmes I., Thothmes II.,* 1587.
Hatshepsut, Thothmes III., Amenhotep II., Thothmes IV., Amenhotep III., Akhenaten, Rasmenkhka, Tutankh-Amen, Ai, Horemheb.

THOUGH the Hyksos had been expelled and the government was again in the hands of a native dynasty, many foreigners remained in Egypt. Where these dwelt in accessible districts they were conquered and became serfs, but in the less accessible parts of the Delta, amongst the jungles and marshes, some tribes maintained a precarious independence. The presence of the Hyksos in Egypt had attracted others of Semitic race, amongst whom were the Hebrews who had settled in Goshen and were at first well treated, but eventually fell into serfdom like the rest.

When opposition ceased in the Delta, Ahmes I. turned his arms southward against the Soudanese and subdued them although not without difficulty. After this Egypt enjoyed a period of repose, and there was a revival of building activity from which Thebes especially profited. When Ahmes had reigned for twenty-five years he died, and having done so well for his country was worshipped for several centuries as a god.

Amenhotep I. succeeded him, and then Thothmes I. came to the throne, under whom Egypt made a new departure in foreign affairs. Beyond short excursions for the sake of chastising the Bedouin, the Pharaohs had taken little interest in Asia until the Hyksos thrust it severely upon their notice. But Thothmes I., perhaps with some idea of avenging the long

period of Egyptian humiliation, determined to carry his arms into that continent. The time was favourable for conquest, for the great powers which afterwards dominated Western Asia had not yet put forth their strength, and Thothmes I. had only to deal with loose tribal confederacies. The long struggle with the Hyksos and with the frontier tribes, had inured the Egyptians to warfare, and the expedition was successful, Thothmes raiding as far as the Euphrates, and returning to Thebes with much booty. After this the Pharaohs sent pillaging expeditions into Asia more or less frequently for hundreds of years until the great Asiatic kingdoms arose and the tide of conquest turned.

When Thothmes I. died, Hatshepsut, his eldest daughter, succeeded as colleague of her younger brother, Thothmes II. The queen was a woman of strong character and took full
1503. control of affairs, and when her brother died after a short reign, she nominated a half-brother as Thothmes III., continuing to rule as co-regent until he became old enough to rule by himself. Hatshepsut abstained from war and did Egypt excellent service, developing the resources of the country and reopening the mines in the Sinaitic peninsula, which had not been worked for centuries. She fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, and sent it on a commercial expedition to Punt, where it was well received, and from which it brought back precious commodities. To commemorate this expedition the queen built a temple at Thebes, decorating the walls with frescoes, illustrative of its exploits. After her death Thothmes III. assumed full sovereignty and showed himself to be a most vigorous king. Hatshepsut had been averse to war, and much that Thothmes I. had gained in Syria had been lost. Thothmes III. determined to make the power of Egypt again felt, and marching into Asia routed the Syrians at Megiddo. Having been so successful in his first expedition he made many others, proving himself a courageous and capable leader. He was not content with reaching the Euphrates, but crossed it and penetrating into Mesopotamia, so overawed the

Assyrians and Babylonians that they bought him off with gifts. The influence of Thothmes III. extended to Cyprus, the Isles of the Ægean, Phœnicia and Asia Minor, and for a time Egypt was supreme from the Taurus to Abyssinia. Of course Thothmes did not interfere with local affairs. The provinces governed themselves and fought amongst themselves as they liked, and so long as they paid tribute regularly Pharaoh was satisfied. These conquests brought Egypt into closer contact with the Asiatic world, and she learned many things. Having been so largely devoted to agriculture, the Egyptians had not made that progress in manufacture which might have been expected, and had much to learn from other nations. The gorgeous garments and elegant ornaments brought as spoil from Asia, inspired them with a desire to imitate, and their captives taught them the way. After this time also there was more intermarrying with Syria, and a considerable increase of Semitic influence at the court of Pharaoh.

Attention has been drawn by historians to the fact that at this time Egypt, although herself so largely agricultural, was importing food stuffs from abroad. This proves that a considerable section of the population must have been engaged at other than agricultural work, chiefly, doubtless, on building operations. Amongst those so engaged were the Hebrews who had now been in Egypt several centuries, and had developed from a family into a people.

Thothmes III. reigned for fifty-four years, and left behind him a high reputation as a conqueror. Amongst his monuments are two obelisks, one of which is now in New York, the other in London.

Amenhotep II. succeeded, and after him Thothmes IV., who cleared the sand away from the sphinx, and set up a tablet between its paws.

Amenhotep III., next ascended the throne, and reigned for 1414.
thirty-one years. The supremacy of Egypt was now so widely recognised that he had few foreign wars, and the numerous tombs, tablets and buildings erected during this period show

it to have been one of peaceful progress. Two of Amenhotep's statues remain—the twin Colossi, of huge size and impressive appearance. One of the statues was called the vocal Memnon, because after it had been thrown down by earthquake in the reign of Tiberius it emitted a crackling noise at sunrise, which passed for music. The sound was caused by the expansion of the stone and ceased when the statue was repaired. Amenhotep III. married Tyi, a princess of Northern Syria, and a worshipper of the solar disc, in honour of whose faith he built a temple. During his life this form of sun worship made
1383. some progress in Egypt, and after his death his son Amenhotep IV., having been trained in this faith by his mother, established it as the state religion and changed his name to Akhenaten (Brilliance of the Sun), in honour of the god. Sun worship was not new in Egypt, for it had been practised at Heliopolis, nor was it so degrading as the conventional idolatry. The adoration of the sun as the channel through which the Supreme Being sustained, animated and reproduced life and power upon the earth, was founded upon a fundamental principle, although like other false religions it soon degenerated into mere idotatry.

Akhenaten found the Theban priesthood so bitterly hostile to the change of worship that he removed the seat of government from Thebes, building a new capital farther north, with a gorgeous palace, at a place now known as Tel el-Amarna. When he removed to the new city he took with him the clay tablets upon which the foreign correspondence of his father was inscribed, and to these his own correspondence was added. The new capital only held its position for thirty years, after which it was deserted and soon perished, the buildings crumbling and becoming mere mounds buried by the drifting sand. Quite recently these mounds have been explored and some hundreds of tablets have been dug up including many despatches from Asiatic princes and governors. The tablets throw a vivid light upon the history of the period. They prove that the language and writing of Babylonia were the common

medium of official communication in Western Asia, and were used freely by many who were not officials a century before the Exodus. They prove, moreover, that education must have been wonderfully general even at that early date. The letters from the governors of the Asiatic cities and provinces also show that whereas, during the reign of Amenhotep III., peace and loyalty prevailed in Syria, during the reign of Amenhotep IV. (Akhenaten), there was ever-increasing defection.

Akhenaten left no son, but two married daughters, whose husbands succeeded him in turn. The first remained a worshipper of the solar disc until his death, but the second returned to the old idolatry, deserted the new capital and took the name of Tutankh-Amen in honour of the Egyptian gods.

After these Ai, a usurper, governed a portion of Egypt for a time, and then Horemheb, the general of the forces, was placed on the throne, evidently with the approval of the army and the Theban priesthood. There had been many changes in Egypt, and the character of the army had materially altered. Formerly it had been feudal, the governors of the nomes rallying round the king in the hour of need, but the old nobility had largely disappeared, and the army was levied upon a basis of personal loyalty to the sovereign.

Horemheb seems to have united Egypt under his rule, but he left no child, and his death closed the eighteenth dynasty.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE OPPRESSION.

1327. DYNASTY XIX.—*Ramses I., Seti I., Ramses II., Merenptah, Seti II., Si-Ptah.*

THE eighteenth dynasty had become very Asiatic in tone, and its Asiatic tendencies had culminated in the reign of Akhenaten, who not only changed his religion but also deserted the sacred city of Thebes, and surrounded himself both in the priesthood and administration with foreigners. After the death of Akhenaten and of his immediate successor, there was a sharp reaction, and aliens were either ejected from the country or depressed by persecution.

Egypt's hold upon Asia was now relaxing, and many of her conquests had fallen into the hands of the Hittites. It will be remembered that these are mentioned in Genesis, where we read that Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite. Since the days of Abraham the tribe had developed into a powerful confederacy—their territory lying north of Lebanon, and stretching from the Taurus Mountains on the west to the important city of Carchemish on the east. The possession of Carchemish on the Euphrates and Kadesh on the Orontes gave them much strength, and they were the lords of Upper Syria. At this time also they had an able leader, one Saplal, under whom they had centralised their forces, and were now warring against Egypt and making havoc amongst her Syrian possessions.

Horemheb, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, had fought against the Hittites, and possibly made a treaty of

peace with them. Ramses I., the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, was already old when he ascended the throne; and, 1327.
though he seems to have invaded Syria and attacked Saplal, he was glad to make a treaty of peace after an indecisive campaign. The work of reconquest, therefore, fell to his son Seti I., who determined not to lose Syria without a struggle and invaded it in the beginning of his reign with a powerful army. Saplal was now dead, and the Hittites, taken by surprise, made little resistance, so that Seti returned in triumph. He had marched as far as the Orontes, and had overawed the Canaanites and the Bedouin, but his expedition was of little permanent value. For the moment, however, Egyptian prestige was increased, and provinces which had not already gone over to the enemy were kept from lapsing. Fresh conquests were out of the question, and Seti was glad to come to terms with the Hittites whose supremacy was recognised north of Lebanon whilst Egypt kept Palestine.

Seti I. was an industrious builder, evidences of his energy being found widely throughout Egypt. He built a beautiful temple at Abydos, but his greatest memorial is at Karnak, where he designed and began to build an enormous temple for the worship of Amon. He was only able to begin the work and his successors carried it on from reign to reign, but for boldness of conception it is almost unparalleled, and even in ruins it amazes the beholder.

The oldest map in the world dates from the reign of Seti I., a map of a mining district drawn on papyrus.

Ramses II. succeeded—a proud and vainglorious man, the 1275.
Louis Quatorze of Egyptian history, yet in many respectsthe most interesting of the Pharaohs. He lived almost one hundred years and reigned sixty-seven; he was successful in war and was the greatest of Egyptian builders. He was the Pharaoh of the persecution, the king who ordered that the Hebrew children should be slain, and the father of the princess who saved the life of Moses. It was at his court that Moses was educated, it was from his wrath that Moses fled, nor was

to until his death that Moses dared return. This has now been abundantly verified. Formerly it was thought that these events happened in the reign of Thothmes III., but it is now clear that Rameses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression.

Though the Hittites had been defeated by Seti I., they soon recovered their strength and Rameses determined to make an effort to regain the supremacy. Accordingly in the fifth year he invaded Syria, and fought a battle at Kadesh with the Hittite confederacy. After a severe struggle in the course of which the King personally distinguished himself, the confederacy was defeated, but the Egyptians also suffered so heavily that they were glad to make peace and return to their own land. Shortly afterwards the Hittites renewed the war, and it dragged on until both Egyptians and Hittites grew tired of fighting and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, the treaty being signed in the city of Rameses and confirmed by a marriage between Rameses and a daughter of the Hittite king. This indirect recognition of the Hittites made a great change in the relationship of Egypt to her Asiatic dependencies, and although enterprising Pharaohs occasionally tried to recover lost ground, on the whole Egypt from this time settled down as a purely African power.

The period which followed this alliance was one of great prosperity. Rameses II., though not a mighty warrior was an able king, and did Egypt good service. Like other Oriental monarchs he spent too much upon useless temples and monuments, but he did not stop there. Canals were deepened, wells dug, caravan routes protected and trade encouraged. He further advanced the extraordinary temple at Karnak which his father had begun, and he built for his mother and for the better protection of the Delta the cities of Pithom and Rameses, the site of the former of which has been discovered.

These works were costly, and, as Rameses II. was not a great conqueror and tribute did not flow in so freely as in former reigns, money was hard to find. There was therefore

heavy taxation and forced labour, a large section of the population being compelled to toil on public works on a mere subsistence allowance. Amongst those so treated were the Hebrews, in early times wealthy and respected land-owners and cattle-dealers in Goshen, now treated as slaves, their pasture lands appropriated, their lives made bitter with hard bondage.

The long reign of Ramses II. had somewhat enfeebled 1208.
the royal power and Merenptah, his son, who succeeded him was, owing to his father's great age, himself past the prime of life when he came to the throne. "Thus one old man succeeded another at a moment when Egypt must have needed more than ever an active and vigorous ruler." Scarcely was Merenptah seated on the throne when trouble began. The Libyan tribes on the north-west frontier, living a half-starved, desert life, who had long looked with envy on the fertile valley of the Nile, now determined to invade Egypt, and gathering their possessions together advanced upon the western side of the Delta. Their first attacks were successful, the frontier towns were destroyed and the open country ravaged. Merenptah taken by surprise remained within the fortifications of Memphis until an army was raised which defeated and scattered the tribes. The king has been accused of cowardice because he did not lead his army in person, but as he was over sixty years of age, this is not to be wondered at.

He had a brief reign but was on the whole a successful king, apparently preserving the empire intact, so far as it had been handed down to him.

After his death the monarchy rapidly decayed. Seti II., his son, was a weak prince, and there was rebellion during his reign. Amon-messu either disputed the throne with him or seized it at his death, governing at Thebes in defiance of the lawful sovereign who was reigning in the north. Seti was succeeded by Si-Ptah who reigned for six years, and with him the nineteenth dynasty came to an end.

It was during this dynasty that the Exodus of the Children of Israel took place. There has been much discussion as to the reign in which the event happened, Merenptah, Seti II. and Si-Ptah having their respective advocates. It is almost certain, however, that it was during the reign of Merenptah, in which the Egyptian legend of the Exodus places it. A stela discovered at Thebes by Professor Flinders Petrie in 1896 confirms this. Merenptah probably reigned between 1208 and 1187, so that although we do not know the exact year of the Exodus the date has now been brought within reasonable limits.

Circa 1200.

The plagues by means of which Pharaoh was influenced, and which culminated in the death of the first-born, probably lasted for some months, but at last the Hebrews were allowed to depart. Even then Pharaoh's fickleness of purpose induced him to pursue, with the result that he lost part of his army in the lakes which lie north of the Red Sea.

The Exodus was well timed. Just a few years before, Palestine had been an Egyptian province and at that time the Hebrews would have been still within the grasp of Egypt even after they had entered Asia, but Egypt had now lost her grip and Palestine was no longer tributary. The Hebrews did not at once enter the land of promise, for when they reached its southern frontier their unfitness for the immediate conquest of the country became so evident that the event was delayed for a generation. During this time they dwelt in the mountains of Seir, but, at last, when the timid rabble which had left Egypt had given place to a new and hardy generation, they crossed the Jordan and entered the promised land.

Meanwhile things had been going badly in Egypt and the central government had broken down. The governors of the various provinces ceased to acknowledge any superior, and warred amongst themselves. In the words of a papyrus, "there was no master, and for a time the country belonged to the governors of cities, one massacring another". Emboldened

by these internal divisions, Arisu, a Phœnician prince, invaded Egypt, seized the throne, and proceeded to conquer the country province by province. The days of the empire seemed numbered, the direct line of Ramses II. was extinct, and the country whose conquests had extended to Mesopotamia was now struggling for existence.

CHAPTER VII.

A DECLINING POWER.

Egypt's brilliant period seemed now to have passed away. Three centuries before, she had set out on a career of conquest and Thothmes III. had raised her to a climax of imperial grandeur, but his conquests had been lost, and both at home and abroad she was surrounded by difficulties. At home the nineteenth dynasty had ended ingloriously—a Syrian prince was on the throne of the Pharaohs, the leading Egyptian nobles were banished, everywhere there was confusion and civil war. For the loss of their foreign possessions the Pharaohs were not entirely responsible. In the earlier days there had been no Asiatic power capable of holding its own against Egypt, but this was no longer the case. The Hittites had become powerful, and Assyria was making her influence felt, and although the Hittite empire faded and the Assyrian went under a cloud, the empire of David and Solomon took their place and effectually barred the door of Asia against Egypt. Her career had been distinguished, and she was yet destined to enjoy much prosperity, but her chance of world-wide empire had passed away.

For a time the country was enabled to escape the indignity of prolonged foreign domination, her deliverer arising from that Theban race to which she already owed so much. Setnekht, a Theban prince, began the war of independence, and after hard fighting drove Arisu, the Phœnician, from power and recovered Egypt for the Egyptians. In fighting for Egyptian freedom Setnekht fought his own way

to the throne, and being already an old man he associated his son, Ramses III., with himself in the government.

Ramses III. was a distinguished monarch who reigned for thirty years, and did his country good service. When he ascended the throne Egypt was in anything but a healthy condition, for the years of anarchy had wrought great evil. "The people lived in banishment abroad. The land belonged to princes from foreign parts. They slew one another, whether noble or mean." 1180.

Ramses restored order at home and abroad. His first foreign trouble was with the Libyans. Since their last invasion of Egypt in the reign of Merenptah they had been growing in strength, pressing more and more on the Delta and seizing fertile land wherever they could. So formidable had they become that Ramses dared not attack them without much preparation. His army was weak, the old warlike spirit had died out from amongst the Egyptians, and for both army and navy he had to depend greatly upon mercenaries. Accordingly he determined to reorganise the military service, and it was well that he did, for in the fifth year of his reign the tribes of the western desert poured in great force into the Delta. Ramses, however, was ready for them, and a battle was fought in which they were defeated with terrible slaughter.

In his eighth year Ramses III. had to deal with a vast tribal movement from Asia Minor and the islands of the Mediterranean. Possibly the movement had begun beyond the Balkans, the northern tribes making one of those migrations to the south which have played so important a part in history, pressing the southern tribes before them as waves of the sea are pressed before a mighty wind. The tribes coming by land brought with them their women, children and household gods, a vast, undisciplined array, and to support them there sailed a formidable fleet. Ramses concentrated an army beyond the frontier and completely defeated the land forces of the enemy, and then assembling a fleet at the mouth of the

Nile, and apparently enticing the enemy into a lagoon, he encircled and destroyed them, thus almost annihilating their forces both by land and sea.

In his eleventh year the African tribes again crossed the western frontier, but were heavily defeated, and so discouraged that they broke up their confederacy. They now abandoned their efforts against Egypt, and became once more the scattered tribes from amongst whom the Pharaohs recruited their army and fleet.

Egypt had now rest from foreign foes, and Ramses III. was able to attend to the development of her resources. The mines in the Sinaitic peninsula were again worked, and an Egyptian fleet trafficked on the Red Sea. Cities and temples were restored, and a palace of very elaborate design was built. During Ramses' reign Egypt prospered, and he must be reckoned one of the great Pharaohs.

Kings of the same name followed, occupying the throne for a century and a half, but their reigns were undistinguished. The character of the Egyptians had degenerated. The rulers preferred the luxury of the palace to the task of government. The old nobility had disappeared, the poor spent their lives at forced labour, and were so wretchedly paid that, although little better than slaves, they had the spirit to hold indignation meetings, and even to strike. Our sympathy is the more aroused when we find that the demand of the strikers was for bread, and that much of their misery arose from the theft of their rations by officials.

There was apparently no lack of money in Egypt had it been distributed with any degree of fairness. Much tribute and spoil had flowed into the country and little had gone out, so that there was abundance of precious metal, and the passion of the time was for jewelry and gorgeous furniture. But far too great a proportion of the wealth had passed into the hands of the aristocracy, and especially into the hands of the priests. The position of the priests had always been an important one in Egypt, and from early times much of the land had belonged

to them. The chief temples were at Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes, and the High Priest of Thebes, or as he was termed "the first prophet of Amon," took rank after the king. Formerly it had been the duty of the king to nominate this high functionary, and care had been taken to choose a loyal supporter, or even a member of the royal house. But in the reign of Ramses III. the high priest nominated his own son as successor, and after that the office was treated as hereditary. Thus it came to pass that one dynasty of kings, and another of powerful and wealthy priests ran parallel in Egypt. The kings, content with lives of pleasure, gradually allowed the high priests to usurp the duties of government, and when at last with the death of Ramses XIII., the twentieth dynasty came to an end, Her-Hor, the High Priest of Amon, ascended the throne, Thebes and Southern Egypt acquiescing in his succession.

Her-Hor, the founder of the dynasty of priest kings, the 1048.
twenty-first Egyptian dynasty, was a powerful man who had already held important offices of state, so that the transition was easy. But the change did not command universal approval, for, though the direct royal line had become extinct, collateral branches of the family were to be found, and whilst the priest kings were governing Southern Egypt, the Delta was ruled by rivals who held their court at Tanis and claimed royal descent. This division of the country into two Egypts, a division which is believed to have existed in the earliest times, was now destined to have some permanence. Theban or Southern Egypt tended to become more African in its character, whilst Northern Egypt, keeping in touch with Europe and Asia, became more cosmopolitan. The immediate result of the division was, however, civil war and a political feebleness which lasted for a century. Nor was Egypt at this time in a better condition socially than politically. From the reign of Ramses III. until the end of the priest dynasty, a period of two and a half centuries, there is little worthy of record. Architecture retrograded, literature made no progress, and the nation steadily degenerated in moral tone, violence

abounding, and robbery becoming a profession. It had long been the custom to bury wealthy Egyptians with ornaments and jewels, and corporations of thieves were formed for pillaging the cemeteries. The tombs of kings and of the rich were plundered, and with so much secrecy that the thefts were sometimes not discovered for years. Occasionally the law made a show of interfering, but officials were easily bribed, and for the most part crime went unpunished.

Whilst Egypt was thus decaying other countries advanced. During the twentieth dynasty Assyria had seemed likely to take the foremost place, but her power declined for a time, and the kingdom founded by Saul and raised to greatness by David and Solomon became supreme in Syria. The Exodus had taken place towards the end of the nineteenth dynasty, and the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews occurred during the reign of Ramses III. The period of Egyptian depression was therefore coeval with that of the Judges, and whilst the government of Egypt was thus distracted and divided between dynasties ruling at Tanis and Thebes David built up the Hebrew empire, extending from the Red Sea to the Euphrates. David kept on friendly terms with Egypt, and Solomon married an Egyptian princess, the daughter of one of the last of the Pharaohs of the Tanite dynasty. Friendship between the peoples led to extended commerce, but the Hebrews gained little by it in morality.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GRAPPLE WITH ASSYRIA.

NOTHING is more striking in connection with Egyptian history than the way in which the seat of government shifted from place to place. In most countries the capital city is fixed even when the dynasty changes, but in Egypt it often shifted with the dynasty, and This, Memphis, Elephantiné, Heracleopolis, Thebes, Xois, Tanis, Bubastis and Sais, each in turn aspired to metropolitan dignity.

During the period covered by the twenty-first dynasty kings had been reigning both at Tanis and Thebes, but both dynasties had decayed, and there was need in Egypt for a strong man if the country was to be reunited. The strong man came in the person of Shishak, the founder of the 945.
twenty-second dynasty. Shishak was captain of the Libyan mercenaries, and these becoming powerful in Egypt at last rose against their employers and set their own chief upon the throne.

Shishak proved to be an energetic and warlike sovereign, and when he had restored order throughout Egypt he began to look towards Syria with longing eyes. Solomon still reigned and the united Hebrew kingdom was too strong for Shishak to attack, but he watched the Jewish king's waning popularity with satisfaction and did his best to foment rebellion. When Jeroboam conspired and had to fly he found a welcome at the court of Shishak, and on Solomon's death, the refugee returning home, proved a ready instrument by which the Hebrew kingdom might be rent in twain.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam Shishak led his forces 927.

against Judæa, and Rehoboam was overawed and made little resistance, so that Jerusalem was captured and the temple and palace were spoiled of the treasures which had been gathered in such abundance by Solomon. In the record at Karnak of this campaign there occur the names of many captured cities, and of these some were Israelitish, so that it looks as if the raid were directed against both Hebrew kingdoms, and not specially against Judah.

After Shishak several kings reigned at Bubastis, but they were men of an inferior type, and we know little of their achievements. When Egypt had been suzerain of Judæa for thirty years Asa rebelled, and defeated a huge army sent against him so completely that the astonished Egyptians ceased to dream of Asiatic empire.

810. The Bubastite dynasty was followed by the twenty-third dynasty, the kings of which ruled from Tanis, but their history
721. is quite obscure. They were succeeded by the kings of the twenty-fourth dynasty who ruled at Sais.

During this period of weakness the country south of Egypt known as Ethiopia, and in modern times as the Soudan, was prospering. There was much affinity between Egypt and Ethiopia in language, customs and religion, but for many centuries Egypt had been supreme. Profiting by the weakness of her suzerain, Ethiopia had of late recovered her independence, and was now under the rule of Piankhi whose capital city was Napata. Piankhi advanced as far as Memphis, and was victorious, but was not strong enough to consolidate his power in Lower Egypt and retired to Napata leaving the
715. native kings ruling in Sais. Some years after another Ethiopian king arose named Shabak, who, being made of sterner stuff, reconquered Egypt, captured Bocchoris, the Egyptian king, and is said to have burned him to death.

Whilst Ethiopia was thus in the ascendant, Assyria overshadowed Western Asia, and only the now feeble kingdoms of Israel and Judah lay between Egypt and this formid-
727. able power. On the death of Tiglath-Pileser III. (Pul), the

subject peoples had revolted, the Israelites amongst the rest, and Samaria was besieged by Shalmaneser IV. That king did not live to complete the conquest, but Sargon, his successor, took the city by storm and carried Israel away captive to 722.
Assyria.

Two years later, Sargon was again in the west, and, marching past Judah, he attacked Gaza, a city of Philistia. Hanun, the king of Gaza, besought Egypt for help, and the Egyptian king Bocchoris sent an army under Shabe, one of his generals, to his relief. Sargon encountered the allies at Raphia, Assyria 720.
and Egypt thus meeting for the first time. The Assyrians were completely victorious—Hanun was taken prisoner, Shabe barely escaped with his life.

Sometime afterwards, Sargon having been assassinated and his son Sennacherib being on the throne, Western Asia made another struggle for freedom. Amongst the rest Hezekiah, king of Judah, revolted, and the aid of Egypt was sought. Shabatok was now reigning, and, when Sennacherib invaded Judæa, the Egyptians marched to help the Jewish king, but were completely defeated at Eltekeh and retired 701.
within their own borders. Sennacherib marched throughout Judah plundering and destroying, but Hezekiah held out in Jerusalem under circumstances which the Bible has made familiar to us, and Sennacherib's army at last met with the great disaster which necessitated his return to Assyria.

Sennacherib did not again attack either Judah or Egypt, 681.
but with the accession of Esarhaddon, his son, there was a change of policy. Tirhakah reigned in Egypt, and Judah was governed by Manasseh, an unpopular and irreligious king, when Esarhaddon determined to perfect the conquest which his father had begun. Accordingly he marched west with a great army, and having easily defeated Manasseh, descended upon 671.
Egypt. Tirhakah made an obstinate defence, but was at last driven southward until he took refuge in Ethiopia, Esarhaddon reaching Thebes. The Assyrian king completely reorganised the Egyptian government, placing in each of the

twenty provinces into which the country was divided a viceroy with an Assyrian garrison.

After Esarhaddon had returned to Nineveh, things went well enough for a time; but Tirhakah's party again got the ascendency, and Thebes sympathising, Memphis was captured and the invaders were driven out. Esarhaddon set out to
668. suppress the revolt, but died on the way, and was succeeded by his son Assur-bani-pal.

The new king was as warlike as his father, and Tirhakah, defeated in the Delta, again fled to Napata. The viceroys were reappointed and Assur-bani-pal returned to Nineveh in triumph. But scarcely had he reached Assyria when he heard that the viceroys were plotting with Tirhakah, and planning a fresh rebellion. The prime leader in the revolt was Necho, the prince of Sais, the ablest of the viceroys, and he was captured and sent in chains to Nineveh. Assur-bani-pal now tried a new plan. Recognising Necho's ability he sent him back as his chief representative with Assyrian troops to support him, and at the same time gave a principality to his son Psamatik. Tirhakah was unable to withstand these princes, and retired to Ethiopia where he died. Shortly after his death his successor, Tuant-Amon, made a further attempt, and, Thebes having opened her gates to receive him, he marched upon Memphis. The city was taken, Necho was slain, Psamatik fled, and Ethiopia was again supreme.

666. Assur-bani-pal now made a determined effort. Invading Egypt in person he defeated Tuant-Amon, chased him to Thebes, and from Thebes to Ethiopia. Thebes was terribly punished for its rebellious tendencies. Its temples, monuments and palaces were destroyed, its treasure carried to Nineveh, its people led away captive. The destruction of this ancient city made a profound impression on the world, and is referred to by Nahum, the prophet, who threatens Nineveh herself with a similar fate. "Art thou better than No-Amon (Thebes), that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about her; whose rampart was the Nile, and her wall was of

the Nile? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were her helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."

This long period of fighting, both with Ethiopia and Assyria, had told terribly upon Egypt. The fertile valley of the Nile, only a few miles wide, was trodden under foot again and again by fiercely-contesting armies. The cities had been destroyed, the temples plundered, the monuments broken in pieces. The glory had apparently departed. National records ceased and the history of the period has to be searched for amongst the writings of the Greeks. Assyria had triumphed, and it seemed as if Egypt must now content herself with being a fief of that empire. Yet at this moment of deepest depression forces were at work which were destined to crush Assyria, and give to Egypt a new lease of life.

CHAPTER IX.

RESTORATION.

HAVING once more crushed the Ethiopian invader, and re-established the viceregal system in Egypt, the Assyrians withdrew from the country, and, as it happened, were never again able to meddle with its affairs. The mighty empire which had so long overridden Western Asia was now herself on the brink of ruin. First she had to deal with a war in Elam, and then with revolts in Babylonia, Arabia and Lydia. Scarcely had she emerged exhausted from these troubles when she was trodden under foot by the Scythians who poured into Asia at this time, and spread over almost her whole empire. Finally, when still breathless from this invasion, she was attacked by the Medes and Babylonians and succumbed.

During the early part of this period, whilst Assyria was still grappling with her revolted provinces at home, Egypt was left to herself, and her viceroys were practically independent princes. Amongst these the most capable was Psamatik, the prince of Sais, son of that Necho, who had been promoted to high honour by Assur-bani-pal, and afterwards slain by Tuant-Amon the Ethiopian. Aware of the difficulties by which
664. his suzerain was surrounded, Psamatik determined to restore Egyptian independence, and to endeavour to reunite the country under his own rule. Being himself apparently of foreign descent, he had not the Egyptian prejudice against foreigners, and is said to have made alliance with Gyges, king of Lydia, who sent him Greek mercenaries. With the aid of the Greeks he expelled such Assyrian garrisons as had not already

been withdrawn, and having triumphed over the other princes at length gained sovereignty over the whole of Egypt.

Psamatik proved an excellent sovereign, and under his rule the country revived. He restored canals and roads, rebuilt cities and temples, and brought the devastated lands once more under cultivation. Egypt had suffered grievously, the more influential cities had been sacked and burnt, the less important had suffered in their degree. Much restoration was necessary, and under Psamatik the valley of the Nile became "one huge workshop," so that the country began to lift up her head.

Under this dynasty, the twenty-sixth, a salutary change came over Egypt with regard to her treatment of foreigners. Egyptians had been extremely exclusive, but Psamatik knowing that by foreigners he had won and was holding his crown, invited the Greeks to settle in Egypt and encouraged commerce between Egypt and the Mediterranean ports. It was during his reign that the Scythian invasion of which we have spoken took place, and their van even reached the Egyptian frontier, but the king prudently bribed them to retrace their steps.

As Assyria was now helpless, Psamatik made some effort to restore to Egypt her ancient Asiatic empire. He invaded Philistia and besieged Ashdod, but the siege was very tedious, lasting for thirteen years. At last the city fell, and was occupied by an Egyptian garrison, but Psamatik's experiences at Ashdod did not encourage him to advance farther into Syria.

Necho II. succeeded his father, and during his reign 610.
final destruction overtook Nineveh. A treaty was made between Cyaxares, the Mede, and Nabopolassar of Babylon, the object of which was the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire. Necho determined to share in the plunder, and attacked Assyria on the west, while the others besieged the capital. He had a well-equipped army and fleet, and the latter gave his soldiers valuable support during the wearisome desert journey between Egypt and Palestine. When at length he turned to march inland it was necessary that he

should cross Judæan territory, and Josiah, king of Judah, prepared to oppose him. Necho protested saying, "My war is upon Euphrates," but Josiah gave him battle at Megiddo
608. in the plain of Esdraleon, east of Carmel, and was defeated and slain.

After Megiddo, Necho marched on the Euphrates and captured Carchemish. On his return journey he captured Jerusalem and deposed Jehoahaz, the new king, making Jehoiakim king in his stead. Thus in one campaign Necho had apparently revived Egypt's Asiatic glory, having added Palestine and much of Syria to his dominions. But the triumph
606. was short lived. Nineveh fell, and the spoils were divided—Cyaxares seizing Northern Assyria and Nabopolassar taking Babylon and the Euphrates Valley. Necho still held Syria but was attacked almost at once by Nebuchadrezzar, the war-
605. like son of Nabopolassar and driven headlong from Carchemish back to his own country.

Necho thus rudely awakened from his dreams of empire resolved to devote himself to home affairs. In these he showed enterprise and ability. In an endeavour to find a means of transporting ships from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea he partially restored the canal which had been made in former ages connecting the Red Sea with the Nile, but superstition apparently interfered with the completion of the work. He next fitted out a fleet, and engaged Phœnician sailors to explore the African coast and see whether Africa was circumnavigable. The fleet sailed down the Red Sea into the Southern Ocean, and in the third year returned by way of the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt. As the sailors had not only to land nightly, but also to lay up their ships, sow grain and wait for harvest when they ran short of provisions, their perseverance was unparalleled and the voyage is one of the most wonderful in history. The stories brought home by the sailors about a reversal in the sun's course, which were received by their countrymen with incredulity, are now known to prove that they accomplished the feat.

Psamatik II., who succeeded Necho II., had a reputation 594.
for wisdom which travelled beyond Egypt, for an embassy came from Greece to consult him concerning the rules of the Olympic games.

About this time Zedekiah was king of Judah, having been placed on the throne by Nebuchadrezzar. He remained loyal to his suzerain for nine years, but at length revolted, and Jerusalem was besieged by a Babylonian army. Psamatik II. was dead, and his son Apries, the Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture, sent an army to help the Jewish king. For the moment it was successful, for the Babylonians raised the siege of Jerusalem and retired, whilst the Egyptians captured Gaza and penetrated to Phœnicia. But these were barren victories. The Babylonians returned with irresistible force, Jerusalem was captured and destroyed, the people carried into captivity, 588.
the kingdom brought to an end, and the king carried blinded to Babylon. Gedaliah was made governor of Judah, but was murdered, and the Jews fled to Egypt and settled at Tahpanhes in the Eastern Delta.

In Egypt itself there was rebellion. Apries had aroused the jealousy of the Egyptians by his pro-Hellenic policy, and Amasis, his brother-in-law, led a revolt against him. A battle was fought at Sais and Apries was captured and deposed, 570.
Amasis succeeding him. Apries was treated well for a time, but afterwards put to death.

Nebuchadnezzar is said to have invaded Egypt in the 568.
thirty-seventh year of his reign, to have defeated Amasis, and to have overrun the Delta, but the information concerning the invasion is exceedingly scanty, and it may never have taken place.

Amasis endeavoured to develop the material resources of the country and in so doing made a free use of foreigners. Although it was the anti-Hellenic policy which had placed him upon the throne his accession made no difference to the Greeks, who were too useful to be done without. He encouraged their settlement, and allowed them to found Naucratis

in the Western Delta on the model of a Greek city. During this reign Egypt was visited by three eminent Greek philosophers, Solon, Thales and Pythagoras, and Greek influence began to permeate Egypt more and more.

547. At this time a new power was arising in Asia, Cyrus the Great having begun his career of conquest. Crœsus, king of Lydia, alarmed at the progress of the conqueror, persuaded Egypt and Babylon to join in alliance against him. The alliance was very ineffective, for Cyrus could attack the confederates in turn and they were too far apart to support one another. Accordingly Lydia was first reckoned with,
538. then Babylon fell, and only Egypt remained. Cyrus had work nearer home and postponed his vengeance, and but that Amasis committed a further folly in attacking Cyprus and withdrawing it from Persian suzerainty his earlier fault might have been forgotten. But this second defiance could not pass unpunished, and when Cambyses succeeded Cyrus he at once made arrangements for the invasion of Egypt both by land and sea.

Amasis died before Cambyses reached the country, and Psamatik III., who succeeded him, proved no match for the Persians. After being defeated at Pelusium he fled to Memphis where he was besieged. The city was taken by assault, after acts of ferocity on both sides. Psamatik was captured
525. and spared for a time, but afterwards executed, and with his death the twenty-sixth dynasty came to an end.

CHAPTER X.

PERSIAN SUPREMACY.

THE Persian conquest brought to an end a dynasty which had 525.
ruled Egypt well, and under which she had enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity.

The account given by Herodotus of the actions of Cambyses represents him as tyrannising over the people and showing contempt for their religious feelings, but recent discoveries prove his stories to be unfounded. Formerly it was supposed that Cyrus and Cambyses were monotheists, and it was thought that the latter might on that account have shown contempt for the gods of Egypt, but we now know that they were idolaters themselves, and therefore by no means likely to have been intolerant of Egyptian idolatry. Monuments have been discovered representing Cambyses in attitudes of worship before Egyptian gods, and there seems no reason to believe that he was regarded by the Egyptians with more dislike than was natural towards a conqueror. Cambyses spent the greater part of his reign in Egypt; but, after his death, the country was left in the hands of satraps, who governed in very arbitrary fashion, and caused the name of Persia to become hateful to the Egyptians.

Unfortunately for himself Cambyses was not content with the conquest of Egypt, but determined also to conquer Africa, and planned expeditions against Carthage, the oasis of Amon, and Ethiopia. The first had to be abandoned because the Phœnicians who formed the bulk of his fleet refused to attack their own colony; he sent 50,000 men against the oasis and not one returned, and finally when he himself led an army

against Ethiopia it ran short of supplies, and had to return precipitately to escape disaster. These reverses lowered Cambyses' prestige, and, combined with his long absence from the capital, encouraged revolution.

Cyrus had left two sons, Cambyses and Bardes, but shortly after their father's death Cambyses had his brother secretly assassinated. Afterwards, during his absence in Egypt, a man named Gomates, who resembled Bardes in appearance, personated him and seized the throne. Cambyses heard of the revolution and started homeward, but died on the way, leaving the usurper master of the empire. After a few months a counter conspiracy was raised against Gomates, he was slain and the empire fell into the hands of Darius Hystaspis.

521. Darius had some trouble in subduing the revolts against his rule which sprang up on every side, but after the empire was pacified he undertook, with great earnestness and ability, the work of organisation. The empire was divided into satrapies, each of which was governed by a ruler appointed by the king and bound very closely to the central authority. In Egypt Darius seems to have acted with judgment, and to have pleased the people by assuming the titles of their ancient kings

490. The battle of Marathon greatly discredited the arms of Persia, and the patriotic party in Egypt were encouraged to rise against their conquerors. They were successful in defeating and expelling the Persian garrisons, and setting a native sovereign, Khabbash, on the throne. Darius prepared to
486. quell the revolt, but died before this was achieved. Xerxes, his son, succeeded him, and reconquered Egypt, using much severity, and appointing his brother, Achæmenes, as satrap,
480. who ruled with an iron hand. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Egypt supplied 200 ships to the fleet which accompanied his ill-fated expedition.

460. During the reign of Artaxerxes I. Egypt again revolted and a prolonged war ensued. The Egyptians, led by Inarus,

king of Libya, and Amyrtæus, an Egyptian, were at first successful, the Persian garrisons being destroyed and Achæmenes slain. At this time Athens was under the government 458.
of Pericles, who, thinking it wise to attack Persia wherever he could, sent 200 galleys to help the Egyptians. A few years later, the war being still prolonged, another expedition of the same magnitude was sent by Athens, and it was evident that nothing but a supreme effort would enable Persia to maintain a hold upon her dependency. Artaxerxes accordingly sent a huge army under Megabazus, and after varied fortune the rebellion was crushed. The Athenian fleet had sailed up the Nile to Memphis, and Megabazus, having cut off their retreat, besieged them with their Egyptian allies in the island of Prosopitis. He next diverted one of the branches of the Nile so that his forces could reach the island on foot, and then 454.
crossing with overwhelming numbers cut them to pieces. Of the Athenians only a few scattered fugitives escaped, Inarus was killed and Amyrtæus driven into the marshes of the Delta. Not long after these events Herodotus visited Egypt, and he describes the battle-field strewn with the ghastly relics of the fight.

Under Darius Nothus Egypt again rose, and this time with so much success that for more than half a century she maintained independence. During this period she had three dynasties of native kings. The twenty-eighth dynasty con- 415.
sisted of but one king, Amyrtæus, perhaps the grandson of the friend and ally of King Inarus. He was succeeded by Nepherites, the first monarch of the twenty-ninth dynasty, 396.
who reigned for seven years and sent a fleet of 100 ships to help the Spartans, but it was intercepted by the Athenian fleet at Rhodes and dispersed. The thirtieth dynasty was founded by Nectanebo I., whose capital was Sebennytus. Artaxerxes II. was now king of Persia, and, determined to subdue Egypt, he sent an overwhelming force of Persians and Greek mercenaries under the joint command of Pharnabazus and Iphicrates. They easily scattered the Egyptians who

were guarding the frontier, and Iphicrates wished to push on to Memphis without delay, and strike at the heart of the empire, but Pharnabazus refused and the result was disastrous. The season for campaigning in Egypt passed, the Nile rose, the Egyptians gathered forces and won a battle and the army had to be withdrawn. This success greatly increased the reputation of Nectanebo, and Egypt had peace for some years and again lifted up her head.

364. Tachos, who succeeded Nectanebo, unwisely provoked Persia by attacking Phœnicia—one of her provinces. He made alliance with Agesilaus, king of Sparta, and was also aided by a Greek fleet. Sparta was in sore straits for money and Tachos offered heavy subsidies in return for help, so Agesilaus himself led the Spartan contingent. But Tachos foolishly quarrelled with Agesilaus and went to Phœnicia in person against his advice, so when during his absence his cousin Nectanebo revolted, Agesilaus and his mercenaries went over to the side of the usurper and deposed Tachos who took refuge at the court of Artaxerxes. Nectanebo II. rewarded Agesilaus generously for his services, and the Spartan
360. king now eighty-four years of age, set out to take the money home but died on the way.

For a time Nectanebo II. governed the country successfully, and many monuments testify to his endeavours to cultivate art. With the aid of Greek generals and mercenary troops he successfully resisted the Persians, who again and again invaded Egypt. But at last Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) determined to reduce the country and raised a mighty army of 340,000 men with which he advanced upon Egypt. Nectanebo had also a large force, including 20,000 Greeks, and might have made a stand, but at the first repulse he lost heart and fell back on Memphis, whence, on the approach of Ochus, he fled southward into Ethiopia. Ochus then crushed out the
349. rebellion with great cruelty, and Egypt once more became a Persian satrapy and was never again free.

CHAPTER XI.

MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY.

THE Persians used their new lease of power in Egypt injudiciously. Themselves monotheists, they had little regard for idol worshippers, but persecuted their priests and took no care of their temples. In other respects they governed well enough. Their taxation does not seem to have been oppressive; at any rate Alexander did not reduce it when he became master of the country.

The news of Alexander's invasion and of his success at 334.
the Granicus created a sensation in Egypt, and after the battle of Issus the Egyptians looked forward to his coming with pleasure—both priests and people hoping that the change of masters would bring them some relief. Alexander accordingly 332.
entered Egypt unopposed, and his march towards Memphis was a triumphal progress. The city at once opened its gates and made him a present of 800 talents—a welcome addition to his treasury.

Gratified by his reception Alexander showed the Egyptians every consideration, respecting their religious feelings, and sacrificing to their local gods. From Memphis he planned an excursion into the Libyan desert to the oasis where stood the renowned temple of Jupiter Ammon. On his way thither he was struck with the capacities of the place where Alexandria now stands. At that time it was only a fishing village, but he gave orders to lay the foundation of a city. The site was well chosen, and the city was afterwards fostered by the Ptolemies, so that it became great, and is to-day his most substantial monument.

From Alexandria he made his way into the desert, marching for five days with a select body of troops until he reached the temple. The priests, well advised, hailed him in the name of the god as son of Jupiter, and told him he was destined to conquer the world. It was the custom for the priests at this shrine to give a certificate of divine origin to Egyptian kings, and to the Egyptians it meant little more than that the priesthood was satisfied with the succession, but Alexander did not realise the hollowness of the declaration and it turned his head. Persuading himself that what they said in meaningless flattery was solemn truth, he grew vainglorious and was delighted when any one pretended to pay him divine honours. His Macedonian comrades were under no misapprehension about his origin, and to them the whole thing seemed ridiculous, so that there was less sympathy between the conqueror and his staff after this incident.

Alexander remodelled the government before he left Egypt. He appointed Cleomenes as his chief minister, making him responsible for the tribute, and left trusty garrisons and a sufficient force to keep the country in order. Cleomenes seems to have governed the Egyptians oppressively, and had Alexander lived to return to Egypt he would doubtless have called him to account. There is a story that Alexander wrote to Cleomenes after the death of Hephæstion and informed him that he knew of his crimes, but would pardon them if he carried out his instructions regarding the deification of his friend. The letter is probably a forgery, but it is clear enough that Cleomenes was tyrannical, though there seems evidence that his hand pressed more heavily upon foreigners than natives, and upon the rich rather than the poor.

323. Alexander died without having revisited Egypt, and the satrapy fell to the share of Ptolemy, a favourite companion if not relative, of the young king. The corpse of the conqueror was carried with great pomp to Memphis, and thence to Alexandria where it was buried. The original plan seems to have been to bury Alexander in the Temple of Jupiter

Ammon which he had visited in the oasis, but Perdiccas, the regent, seeing that the possession of the body would give Ptolemy an advantage, afterwards ordered that it should go to Macedonia. Ptolemy, however, met the procession when it reached Palestine, and diverted it to Egypt.

Perdiccas does not seem to have been favourably disposed towards Ptolemy, for it is said that he named Cleomenes as his colleague in the government of Egypt, but Ptolemy settled the question of rivalry by putting Cleomenes to death. He knew, however, that he would not be left to govern Egypt in peace, for Perdiccas, who had been appointed regent, wanted to keep as much power as possible in his own hands, hoping ultimately to reunite the empire under his rule. Accordingly Ptolemy prepared for attack, and was ready when it came. Perdiccas attempted to cross the Nile in the face of the enemy, but was unsuccessful, and his soldiers mutinied and murdered him, after which most of them joined themselves to Ptolemy.

Thus began the Ptolemaic dynasty which held the throne of Egypt for about three centuries, forming one of the brightest periods of Egyptian history. The later Ptolemies were not estimable, but the first three, Soter, Philadelphus and Euergetes, whose reigns lasted for a century, were amongst the best rulers Egypt ever had.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EARLY PTOLEMIES.

THOUGH the generals of the Macedonian army had kept the real power in their own hands, they had nominated Philip Arridæus, Alexander's half-brother, as his successor, appointing Perdiccas as regent to govern the empire on behalf of Philip, and guard the interests of Alexander's child, who was as yet unborn.

We have seen how Perdiccas and Ptolemy at once fell out,
321. and how the quarrel ended with the death of the former. A few years after, Philip was put to death, and there remained only the young prince in whose name the various generals
311. now governed. At last he also was murdered and there was nothing to prevent Ptolemy and the rest from assuming the royal title. Ptolemy was, however, really king from the time when he first entered Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy I. was a successful ruler. He had proved himself a capable fighter when in the service of Alexander, and he fought when necessary in defence of his kingdom, but he does not seem to have been enamoured of war, preferring the more solid virtues of peace. He was apparently a man of only moderate ability, but he had an abundance of common sense, and Egypt prospered under his rule.

We know wonderfully little of Egypt's home affairs at this time, but the country must have been rich, and Ptolemy did all he could to further its interests. The seat of government was at Alexandria—a city which increased rapidly in importance, and was soon the centre of a large trade. Com-

merce was encouraged in every way, and free intercourse with the outer world. Many Greeks settled in Egypt, and Jews also came in large numbers. Josephus professes that the latter came under compulsion, but it seems more likely that they were attracted by Ptolemy's liberality and kind treatment. They settled especially in Alexandria, forming a distinct community, and receiving rights of citizenship.

Endeavouring to emulate the Athenian schools of learning, Ptolemy I. founded the University of Alexandria, and so well endowed its chairs that the most cultivated men in Europe gathered round, amongst whom we may name Euclid, the mathematician; Hipparchus, the astronomer; and Manetho, the historian.

Unfortunately, while we can speak highly of Ptolemy's treatment of foreigners, the native Egyptians did not fare quite so well at his hands. True, their religion was respected and their customs were not interfered with, and in these respects Greek rule was more palatable than Persian. Ptolemy was careful to keep the priesthood on his side, so he left their endowments unimpaired and spent money freely on their temples. For the most part, however, the natives became hewers of wood and drawers of water. Their laws were respected, but they were administered by Greeks, and in every department of government the Greek was supreme. Greek was the official language, and unless a native received a Greek education he had little chance of preferment. As for the humbler Egyptian, the fellah, he had to find the revenue—the usual privilege of his class. Nevertheless he was as well off under the Ptolemies as he had been under the Pharaohs.

In foreign affairs Ptolemy had at first varied fortune. He gained the adherence of Cyrene without much trouble, and added also the island of Cyprus to his empire. He next proceeded to seize Syria and was at first successful, holding it for five years, after which Antigonus seized it. Later, Anti- 306.
gonus and Demetrius his son defeated Ptolemy's fleet at

Cyprus; and, encouraged by this success, planned an invasion of Egypt. They did not choose the best season, however, and suffered so much from storms that they had eventually to
301. retreat to avert serious disaster. A few years later a coalition was formed against Antigonus, who was defeated and slain at the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy had been a member of the coalition, and, though he had not helped in the battle, he seized upon Lower Syria and Phœnicia, claiming them as his portion, and it did not suit the others at that time to contest his claim. In the end, therefore, Ptolemy I. ruled over an empire which embraced Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus, Palestine and Phœnicia. He had also great influence over the islands of the Ægean and the free cities of Asia Minor. A league was formed of which he was made president, and he received from the Rhodians the title of Soter (saviour) by which he is known, in recognition of his having saved them from subjection to Antigonus. Ptolemy's last years were prosperous and peace-
285. ful; and when an old man, he abdicated in favour of his son, at whose court he lived for two years and then died at the age of eighty-four.

Ptolemy II., known as Philadelphus, though the name was probably given after his death, was the youngest son of his father, but was born of Berenice, his favourite wife, after he had assumed the title of king. The eldest son Ptolemy Keraunos was in Thrace at the time of his father's death, and was never in a position to contest the crown with his brother. Another elder brother, Magas, was regent of Cyrene, and Ptolemy II. permitted him to retain that province under an arrangement by which on his death it would revert to Egypt.

Ptolemy II. proved an excellent ruler. He reopened the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, founded several ports on the Red Sea and made roads from them to the Nile. By these means and by the establishment of caravan routes he did much to develop commerce, and trade was carried on freely with Europe, Arabia and the Soudan. Under him the

Egyptian monarchy rose to great power, and he became very rich, so that he could maintain a large army and navy and keep his frontier well guarded.

In literary tastes Ptolemy II. was not behind his father. Alexandria continued to be a centre for Hellenistic culture; Manetho, the historian, was instructed to translate the ancient records of Egypt, and produced a work which, though not much thought of at the time, has been fully appreciated since. During this reign also the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, known as the Septuagint, was undertaken. Like his father he treated the Jews with kindness, giving them allotments in various parts of Egypt. He developed the province of the Fayum, erecting an embankment known as the "Arsinoe" in honour of his favourite wife, and he gave allotments both there and on the other crown lands to the soldiers.

During this reign the Alexandrian lighthouse on the island of Pharos was built. It was of white marble and of great height, so that the light could be seen many miles from the harbour. The foreign policy of Ptolemy II. was as far as possible pacific, but he resisted an attack of Magas, his half-brother from Cyrene; and he had wars with Syria. By far the most important act of his reign, in regard to foreign affairs, was the offer of alliance to Rome. The embassy 273.
was sent by Ptolemy just after the Romans had defeated Pyrrhus, and it marked the recognition of Rome as a great power. The Roman Senate replied with dignity and cordiality, and thus a friendship was begun between Rome and Egypt which lasted during the Ptolemaic dynasty.

On the death of Philadelphus, he was succeeded by 246.
his eldest son Ptolemy III., surnamed by the people Euergetes.

A serious quarrel broke out between Egypt and Syria at this time. The sister of the young king had been given in marriage to the king of Syria, but when her husband died both she and her infant son were assassinated. Ptolemy

determined to avenge her death, and, having been left by his father a fine army and abundant treasure, he made several successful campaigns. He first attacked the coasts of Asia Minor and seized the treasure cities of Cilicia. He next captured Seleucia at the mouth of the Orontes, and marched on Antioch which yielded at once. He then crossed the Euphrates and traversed Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, Persia and Media, bringing back from Persia gods which had formerly been carried from Egypt by Persian kings, together with a vast amount of booty. His return was hastened by news of discontent at home. There had been a failure of the inundation of the Nile, and the people, threatened by famine and angry at his long absence and apparent inattention to their needs, were rising against him. He returned, however, before the revolt spread, and the spoil which he brought with him may have done something to appease the people.

After so much success in his first campaigns it might have been expected that Ptolemy III. would have continued to prosecute the art of war, but it was not so. He made no attempt to rule permanently over the vast area which he had conquered, but contented himself with holding Cœle-Syria and such places as enabled him to command the sea up to the Hellespont. He thus gained and kept during his reign the control of the Levant besides having immense influence amongst the commercial cities of the Ægean and in Greece itself. But he found that it was a wiser policy to manage foreign affairs by diplomacy and subsidy than by wasting his substance and risking his all in war.

Ptolemy III. was nowise behind his predecessors in the encouragement of learning. He seems to have been himself of scientific tastes, and the university in Alexandria was encouraged by him, and was as famous as ever during his reign. He appointed Eratosthenes of Cyrene, a man of very extensive learning, as his librarian and tutor to his children. A poem is extant from Eratosthenes to the king giving the solution of a geometrical problem.

A document called the decree of Canopus, of which copies have been preserved, contains some interesting matter, and amongst other things an account of the reform of the calendar by the introduction of leap-year. "In order that the seasons may correspond regularly to the establishment of the world, and that it may not occur that some of the national feasts kept in winter may come to be kept in summer, the sun changing one day in every four years, and that other feasts now kept in summer may come to be kept in winter in future times, as has formerly happened, and now would happen if the arrangement of the year remained of 360 days, and the five additional days added; from now onward one day, a feast of the benefactor gods, shall be added every four years to the five additional days before the new year."

During the reign of Ptolemy III. there was a terrible earthquake at Rhodes which threw down the Colossus. Rhodes was a great banking centre, and there was much loss and commercial panic. It is interesting to know that various kings came forward to aid the Rhodian bankers and citizens to tide over the crisis. Amongst those who helped was Ptolemy whose donations were liberal.

During his reign he planned and founded a great temple at Edfu, at which all his successors in the dynasty laboured, and which was at last only finished by Ptolemy Auletes nearly two centuries after.

Ptolemy III. was on the whole a capable king, and seems to have been possessed of moral qualities which Oriental monarchs frequently lack. Egypt had now been ruled for a century by his family, and had never known better government. The period has been not unfitly called her golden age. It is true that the government was on Greek lines, that the Greek language was used, and that most of the leading officials were Greek. But the Egyptians were oppressed less by their Greek sovereigns than they had been by the Pharaohs. They enjoyed peace at home, their commerce extended throughout the known world, they were prosperous

and contented, and art and learning flourished. The university had schools of mathematics, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, and earnest students were attracted from all lands. So far the Ptolemaic dynasty had been a blessing to Egypt, but unfortunately the golden age was not destined to last.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LATER PTOLEMIES.

The Ptolemies who had for three generations sat upon the throne of Egypt had been men of character and ability, but Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) a prince of inferior type fell under evil influence, and spent in debauchery the energy which should have been devoted to the interests of the empire. 222.

Antiochus the Great was now king of Syria, and scarcely had he ascended the throne when he tried to wrest from Egypt the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. It is probable that Ptolemy III. had in his last years neglected military affairs, for the young king was without an army and Antiochus captured Seleucia and Tyre and extended his power southward with little opposition. Ptolemy, however, bestirred himself and at last gathered an army in which were many mercenaries and natives drilled in Macedonian fashion and led by Greek generals. With this army he encountered Antiochus at Raphia near Gaza and was completely victorious, but he gave Antiochus easy terms, contenting himself with keeping Palestine and Phœnicia. He spent three months marching from city to city in these provinces, and it was on this occasion that he visited Jerusalem and insisted on entering the Holy of Holies. The battle of Raphia had taught Antiochus that Egypt could not be attacked with impunity, and he made no further effort against her Syrian provinces until the death of Ptolemy IV.

During this reign Rome was engaged in fighting against Hannibal and it seemed likely that Philip of Macedon would make alliance with the African against his great enemy. As

Philip and Antiochus were sovereigns whom Egypt had cause to fear, Ptolemy sympathised with Rome and the alliance
210. which had so long existed was renewed.

The foreign relations of Egypt were not materially altered during this reign, but there was discontent at home. It may be that the victory at Raphia had taught the natives their power, and that they had begun to wonder why so much favour should be lavished upon Greeks, or they may have merely risen against oppression. At all events there were two serious revolts—the former in Lower Egypt not quenched without years of bloodshed, the latter in Upper Egypt left by Philopator as a legacy to his son.

The king had some of the love for letters which distinguished his predecessors, but love of debauchery was his overmastering passion. At the beginning of his reign he connived at the murder of his mother, Berenice, and at his death the affairs of government were in the hands of brutal favourites who murdered his wife, Arsinoe, the mother of his infant son.

The murder of Arsinoe greatly exasperated the Egyptians. She had been popular, and the household troops mutinied, and having obtained possession of the infant king tore the murderers of his mother in pieces.

Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes), whose reign began under such unhappy circumstances, was placed under the guardianship of able and trustworthy ministers. Philip of Macedon and Antiochus of Syria, thinking a golden opportunity had come, lost no time in allying themselves, with the intention of dividing young Ptolemy's possessions between them. Of these Philip coveted the islands of the Ægean, whilst Antiochus set his mind upon Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Had they attacked Egypt at once they might have been successful, but they delayed for three years, and these were eventful years, for during them was fought the battle of Zama which broke the power of Carthage irretrievably, and left Rome free to attend to affairs in the east.

After Zama, Rome sent an embassy to thank the Egyptians for their neutrality during the Punic War, and the ambassadors learnt of the partition treaty between Syria and Macedonia. Partly out of friendship for Egypt, partly because it did not suit their views that either Philip or Antiochus should become unduly powerful, the Romans kept a benevolent eye upon the affairs of their old ally, and saw that she did not come to much harm.

Philip's ambition to become suzerain of the Ægean was checked by his defeat at the hands of the Rhodians, and finally extinguished at Cynoscephalæ. Antiochus was held back for 197.
a time by Scopas, the Egyptian general, but when Scopas was beaten and Antiochus had Egypt at his mercy the Romans 198.
compelled him to make peace—the peace being cemented by the betrothal of his daughter Cleopatra to the young king with a promised dowry of half the revenues of Cœle-Syria.

Epiphanes was thus relieved from foreign dangers, but he lost his empire. The islands of the Ægean and the Greek cities of Asia, granted autonomy by Rome, no longer sent tribute to Egypt; and though the king married Cleopatra in due time, and thus obtained an accession of revenue, the Romans did not allow either Cœle-Syria or Palestine to pass again under the power of Egypt.

At home also Egypt had many troubles. The revolt in Upper Egypt, which had begun in the reign of Philopator, lasted until the nineteenth year of the reign of his son. This caused the revenue to fall, so that the king was not as rich as his fathers.

Towards the end of his reign he determined to win back Cœle-Syria and raised an army for that purpose, but having spoken unguardedly concerning some friends who had not been forward enough with their support, he was poisoned 181.
when only twenty-nine years of age.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ptolemy Eupator, who had been associated with him on the throne, but nothing is known about him except his name.

Philometor, a younger brother of Eupator, now reigned as Ptolemy VII., and about the same time Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) succeeded to the throne of Syria. Cleopatra having died, a dispute arose between Syria and Egypt concerning the dowry of the Syrian revenues in which Antiochus declared that Cleopatra had only a life interest. War ensued and the Egyptians were defeated, Philometor being made a prisoner. Antiochus soon conquered all Egypt excepting
167. Alexandria, and was besieging it when an envoy arrived from Rome and ordered him to cease. Antiochus dared not face a war with Rome and withdrew his army. Philometor thus reinstated showed himself a worthy king having many excellent qualities, and at last died in battle.

A child was put on the throne as Ptolemy VIII., but the brother of Philometor, Euergetes, came from Cyrene where
146. he had been governor, and took up the sceptre as Ptolemy IX. known as Physkon. Many evil things have been said about this king, but they have no very substantial foundation. He seems to have been kindly disposed towards the Jews, and to have favoured the native Egyptians, and perhaps partly on this account incurred the wrath of the Greeks. He left the empire in a flourishing condition when he died.

It would be profitless to do more than mention Ptolemies X., XI. and XII. concerning whose brief reigns we know almost nothing. The power of Rome was now overshadowing the world, and an utterly selfish commercial spirit had taken hold of the Romans, who only considered how best they might increase their wealth. To this spirit of cupidity Carthage, Corinth and Rhodes had already fallen victims, and Egypt was a rich prize. It was believed that Ptolemy XII. had willed his kingdom to the Romans, and the Egyptians were in a state of chronic fear lest they should lay claim to it. When,
76. therefore, Ptolemy XIII., best known as Auletes, succeeded, he tried hard to obtain from Rome a formal recognition of his sovereignty. The Romans held this back, in spite of enormous bribes, for nearly twenty years, so that it was not until the

consulship of Julius Cæsar that Auletes by one last bribe of 59.
6,000 talents obtained the coveted recognition. The Egyptians,
angry at seeing so much treasure going to Rome, rose against
their king, and expelled him from Alexandria. Driven thus 58.
into exile he went to Rome and besought the Senate to restore
him, but owing to intrigues and disputes the matter was pro-
tracted until, with another huge bribe and the consent of
Pompey, he obtained the help of Gabinius, the pro-consul in 55.
Syria, and after three battles was re-established on the throne.
He died four years after this event, leaving two daughters,
Cleopatra and Arsinoe, and two sons both named Ptolemy.

CHAPTER XIV.

CLEOPATRA.

51. Ptolemy Auletes at his death bequeathed his kingdom to his elder daughter, Cleopatra, at that time seventeen years of age, and his elder son, a boy of ten, whom she was eventually to marry. Ever afraid of the influence of Rome, he had sent a copy of his will there, and besought the Roman people not to interfere with its dispositions, but at that time the city had many troubles of her own, and could give little attention to the affairs of Egypt.

Cleopatra showed such independence of spirit that after the joint reign had continued for four years the guardians of the boy king advised him to assume full control, and he drove the queen into exile. Cleopatra went to Syria and gathered
48. an army with which she proceeded to invade Egypt. It was the year of Pharsalus, and Pompey, flying from Cæsar, reached Pelusium at the time when the armies of the King and Queen of Egypt lay confronting one another there. As Pompey had been the means of restoring Auletes to the throne, he had some right to expect a favourable reception from his son, and he sent with some confidence to the young king asking permission to land. The advisers of the king were in a dilemma, for if they received Pompey they feared Cæsar, and if they refused he might join Cleopatra. Accordingly they sent a small boat to take him to the shore, where stood the king apparently ready to greet him, but as he stepped from the boat he was stabbed in the back and fell dead.

When Cæsar arrived soon afterwards, Cleopatra threw herself upon his mercy, and her charms at once gained for her

his support. He ordered that the will of Auletes should be carried out, and that the brother and sister should reign jointly. Cæsar was justified in this course, for Auletes had besought the Romans to see that the will was observed, but it was soon evident that Cæsar was in love with Cleopatra, and the joint reign meant that she reigned alone.

There was in Alexandria at this time a very dangerous and turbulent populace, consisting of refugees from other lands, pirates and the old Gabinian soldiers who had settled in Egypt. None of these had any sympathy with Cæsar, and when they saw him assuming the government, imposing military law, and above all seizing the treasure, they were exasperated. In all there must have been 20,000 men under arms in Alexandria, whilst Cæsar had with him only a small force of 2,000 men.

Arsinoe, Cleopatra's younger sister, and the young king escaped from the palace and put themselves at the head of the people, and a fierce struggle ensued. Cæsar sent to Asia for help and meanwhile tried conciliation, but it was in vain, and his life was in imminent peril. The palace was assaulted, efforts were made to cut off the water supply from his troops, and he had to burn his fleet to save it from falling into the hands of the enemy. In the conflagration a great number of papyrus rolls were destroyed, and this gave rise to the belief in after years that the Alexandrine Library had been burnt. At last the reinforcements arrived from Asia, the Egyptians were defeated and the young king was drowned.

Cleopatra was now settled upon the throne with a yet younger brother as colleague and with Roman legions to protect her rights. After Cæsar returned to Rome Cleopatra followed him, taking with her their infant son named Cæsarion, and her brother, Ptolemy XV., who seems to have been poisoned during his stay at Rome. After the fall of Alexandria, Arsinoe had been sent to Rome and led in Cæsar's 46.
triumph. Her life was spared, and she returned to Alexandria, but was afterwards put to death by Antony.

Cleopatra returned to Egypt after the assassination of Cæsar, and during the disturbances which ensued in the Roman world she preserved neutrality for a time. She had named her infant son as her colleague on the throne under the title of Ptolemy Cæsar, obtaining, it is said, the consent of the Romans for the act. During these years famine and pestilence visited Egypt, and when Cassius demanded men and money from Cleopatra, she made the state of the country an excuse for refusal.

42. At last the campaign of Philippi threw the power into the hands of Antony and Octavian—the former undertaking to govern the east, the latter the west. Antony went to Asia with his legions and commanded Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia and explain the somewhat doubtful neutrality of
41. Egypt. The beautiful queen instead of meeting him as a humble suppliant, appeared in the most regal splendour, and Antony lost both his heart and his head. He accompanied her to Egypt and remained there for a time, during which Cleopatra persuaded him to have her sister Arsinoe assassinated. After a while Antony had to tear himself away from Egypt and return to Rome, and there he married Octavia, the sister of his colleague. But when, a year or two after, he was sent against the Parthians, Cleopatra met him at Antioch and he lavished provinces upon her for gifts. When Antony had departed for the east, Cleopatra returned towards Egypt, and on her way southward met Herod the Great in Jerusalem. Herod was himself building up a kingdom by Roman favour, and he knew that Cleopatra was his most dangerous rival. He would gladly have slain her, but feared the wrath of Antony, so he had her led out of his dominions to her own frontier with politeness but celerity.

Antony returned defeated from Parthia and was met again in Syria by Cleopatra who brought succour to him. He retired with her to Egypt and prepared for a second campaign.
34. In this he was more successful, so he celebrated a Roman triumph at Alexandria, and bestowed great part of the eastern

world upon Cleopatra and her sons. This gave rise to much dissatisfaction in Rome, and when he at length divorced his 32.
wife Octavia, thus breaking the bond between himself and his colleague, war speedily ensued. Had Antony attacked Octavian at once he might have been successful, but he delayed; and when at last he took decisive action he made the great mistake of allowing Cleopatra to accompany him to the seat of war.

The rival fleets joined battle at Actium, and Cleopatra, 31.
yielding perhaps to womanly fear, fled. Antony followed her, and thus every chance of victory was thrown away. In the following year Octavian sailed to Egypt, and Cleopatra, 30.
seeing that Antony's fortunes were now in desperate case, made an effort to negotiate with the conqueror. It was in vain, and she then caused a report of her death to be spread, and took refuge in a mausoleum which she had built. Antony followed her to the mausoleum, stabbed himself and died in her arms. She made one further effort to soften the heart of Octavian, but when she found that it was in vain and that he intended to carry her to Rome to grace his triumph, rather than become sport to the people she died by her own hand.

Thus passed away, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, 30.
Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies, and one of the most striking figures in the ancient world. Whatever her faults may have been, she was a woman of extraordinary ability and fascinating power, and under more favourable circumstances she might have recovered for Egypt something of its former greatness. Octavian slew her sons Cæsarion and Antyllus; the third son is unaccounted for. Her daughter is said to have married Juba, the king of Mauretania, who had accompanied Octavian to Egypt. Egypt now became a Roman province, and was put under a prefect—the government being kept jealously under the personal control of the emperor, and closed to senators, lest a rival empire should be established.

BABYLONIA.

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF UNITED BABYLONIA.

	B.C.		B.C.
Khammurabi (Amraphel) overthrows Chedorlaomer and Arioch and unites Babylonia		Kuri-galzu I.	
		Burna-buryas. . . .	1400
		Kuri-galzu II.	
		Khara-khardas.	
Samsu-iluna.		Nazi-bugas.	
Abesukh.		Kuri-galzu III.	
Ammi-ditana.		Nazi-Maruttas.	
Ammi-zadok.		Kadasman-Turgu.	
Samsu-ditana.		Kadasman-buryas.	
Anman		Kudur-Bel.	
Ki-annibi.		Saga-rakti-buryas.	
Damki-ili-su.		Bibeyasu.	
Iskipal.		Bel-sum-iddin.	
Sussi.		Kadasman-Kharbe.	
Gul-kisar.		Rimmon-sum-uzur . .	1300
Kirgal-daramas.		Conquered by Assyria, about 1280 and more or less subject to Assyria for some centuries, the history being fragmentary .	
A-dara-kalama.			
E-kur-ul-ana.			
Melamma-kurkura.			
Bel-ga-mil.			
		Nabopolassar . . .	626
Gandis		Nineveh destroyed . .	606
Agum-sipak.		Nebuchadrezzar . .	605
Agu-yasi.		Evil-Merodach . . .	562
Ussi.		Nergal-sharezer . . .	560
Adu-metas.		Labasi-Merodach . .	556
Tazzi-gurumas.		Nabonidos	556
Agum-kak-rimi.		Babylon captured by Cyrus King of the Medes and Persians and end of Babylonian Empire . . .	538
. . . . .			
Kara-indas.			
Kadasman-Bel			

Based upon Sayce, *Early Israel*, 1899.

BABYLONIA
AND
ASSYRIA.

BABYLONIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

The name Babylonia was given to that tract of land lying north-west of the Persian Gulf, bounded on the east by Elam, on the north by Assyria, and on the west by Arabia. The country is very flat—a long, level stretch of alluvial soil deposited by the Euphrates and Tigris. These rivers rise in Armenia, where their sources are not far apart, and for a time flow southward in parallel lines; then the Euphrates turns to the west as if making for the Mediterranean, but as it seems to be approaching that sea it again turns, and, flowing in a south-easterly direction draws nearer to the Tigris, until at last the rivers join and in one stream enter the Persian Gulf. Both rivers are navigable for a great part of their route, and both bring down so much mud in suspension that the Persian Gulf is continually being encroached upon. The absence of irrigation and of judicious draining and dredging has made the country malarial and unhealthy, and much of it is little better than morass. But in earlier times, when the supply of water was regulated by canals and sluices, and the soil was carefully tilled, it brought forth profusely, and being covered with trees and plants had a better climate and was a healthier country to live in. In those days the population was considerable, and the fertile soil yielded to the cultivator an abundant harvest of cereals, dates, vegetables and fruits of many kinds.

The civilisation was very ancient, Babylonia having no

rival in antiquity excepting Egypt, and it has this special interest that it is the country from which much of our western civilisation sprang. Abraham, the progenitor of the Hebrew race, to which the world owes so much, also came from Babylonia.

In historic times we find Babylonia inhabited by a mixed race, partly Accadian, principally Semitic. The Accadians were the original inhabitants, and the earliest cities were founded by them. Modern exploration has taught us something about these, especially important discoveries made by the French at Telloh, in Southern Babylonia, where a city has been found called Lagas in early times, and belonging to the dawn of Babylonian history. Its antiquity is proved by the character of the cuneiform writing found on its inscriptions, which is rude and simple, and evidently still in its infancy; as well as by the nature of the language, which is not Semitic, but akin to that of the Elamites and Persians. In those early days Southern Babylonia was known as Sumer, Northern as Accad, and the language is sometimes called Sumerian, sometimes Accadian. The earlier inhabitants were absorbed by the stronger race, and the Semitic language prevailed, but the Accadian lingered long; and, even when it had become a dead language, it was studied by educated Babylonians.

The Babylonians were an agricultural people, and as their agriculture had to be aided by irrigation, there was an elaborate system of canals, some of which were large enough to be navigable. At the present time, under the blighting influence of Turkish rule, this prosperity has passed away, the great rivers have been allowed to silt up, or to bury themselves in the sand, and only mounds of brick earth remain to tell of the time when Babylonia was busy and well peopled.

Like most agricultural races the Babylonians were of a peaceful disposition. If this is not quite our notion of them we must remember that, although they existed as a people for two or three thousand years, our ideas of their character are

based mainly upon what they were in the time of Nebuchadrezzar. During the reign of that monarch Babylon became a magnificent city and Babylonia a mighty empire, but he reigned for less than fifty years, and with him passed away the greatness of Babylonia. In this respect it differed from its offspring the Assyrian empire, which exercised an unrivalled sway in the world for many centuries.

The Babylonians were idolaters, and superstitious to an unusual degree. Doubtless amongst the more cultivated there was an elevation of mind which dealt with the image rather as an emanation of the god than as the god himself, and Jehovah had even in Babylonia his true worshippers. Nevertheless the Babylonian religion was extremely polytheistic and of a low order. The Accadians had believed in a great number of spirits, malevolent and benevolent, who were to be propitiated by charms worked by the priests. The Semitic Babylonians adopted many of their ideas, but their worship was more solar in character. The plains of Chaldea gave a superb opportunity for observing the stars; and astronomy, astrology and religion went hand in hand.

The principal deities may be divided into four sections. In the highest rank would be Anu, the lord of heaven; Ea, lord of the deep; and Bel, lord of the world. In the second rank come Sin, the Moon god; Samas, the Sun god; and Rimmon, god of the Air. In the third group are the planets, Nin or Saturn; Merodach, or Jupiter; Nergal, or Mars; Nebo, or Mercury; and Istar, or Venus, a goddess widely worshipped under many names; and in the fourth rank a host of smaller deities, of greater or less consequence according to the locality.

The Babylonians had sacred books, collections of volumes containing incantations, hymns, psalms, and a liturgy with prayers to various deities, and special services for appointed times. They observed fast days, and the Sabbath was a religious institution amongst them. They had many legends, and amongst these, some describing the creation, the deluge,

and the Tower of Babel. Although these legends are overladen with mythology yet their relationship to the narrative in Genesis is very interesting, both as regards points of agreement and points of difference.

The Babylonians were a studious people, and education seems to have been general amongst them. They had many libraries, of which the most important were at Accad, Larsa, Nippur, Erech, Cuthah and Babylon. In some cases the books were written on papyrus, but generally they were on tablets of clay, made plastic, engraved with a stylus and then hardened in the sun. The Assyrians were more careful with their tablets, and baked them in the kiln, so that they were as a rule smaller and more enduring than those made in Babylonia. During the reign of Assur-bani-pal the libraries of Babylon were plundered for the benefit of Nineveh. Many of the tablets have been found, including treatises upon a variety of subjects, sometimes, as in the case of books of charms and fables, mere rubbish, sometimes of greater value, but all showing that the Babylonians had plenty of mental activity.

They were patient observers, and knew a good deal about astronomy. When Callisthenes visited Babylon in the train of Alexander the Great, he found and sent home to Aristotle copies of astronomical observations or calculations, dating from B.C. 2000. Much of our present-day conception of the heavens came from Babylon. The Babylonians divided the starry universe into constellations, and originated the signs of the Zodiac. They had also the seven-day week, and the names of our days Saturnday, Sunday, Moonday, imitate the Babylonian method.

Although we know that the Babylonians were amongst the most ancient of nations, yet our knowledge of their early history is extremely vague, and this statement not only applies to the early period but holds good up to the eighth century, and indeed almost to the time of Nebuchadrezzar. This is the more disappointing as we gather a very fair idea of the history of the Assyrians from records and monuments.

The lack of these in Babylonia, is partly attributable to the scarcity of stone, and partly to so many of the tablets being of sun-dried clay. Some of the history is based upon fragmentary copies of a work written by Berosus in Greek, in the third century B.C., some from Assyrian records, some from inscriptions, and some from the Bible, but when all is added together it makes, for so great a nation, only "the dust of history".

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE THE UNION.

The alluvial plain known as Babylonia was, in ancient times, dotted with cities such as Ur, Erech, Larsa, Karrak, Nippur, Babylon, Accad, Cuthah, Kis, Sepharvaim, Lagas and Dur, the sites of many of which have been identified. There was great scarcity of stone in Babylonia, and the buildings were of brick, much of which was poorly burnt and has perished. The use of brick had, however, this advantage that the bricks could receive the royal stamp, so that we can often tell which kings built at the various places, who founded, and who enlarged the temples and palaces. In Assyria the greatest buildings were the palaces, in Babylonia the temples, but little now remains of the latter excepting heaps of rubbish, from which pieces here and there have been unearthed.

In early times the Babylonian cities were autonomous, and the importance of the city varied with the strength of its ruler, so that the centre of gravity was now in Lagas, now in Accad, and now in Ur, until at last it reached Babylon where it remained. In the writings of Berosus, who lived in the third century before the Christian era, an attempt was made to tabulate the kings who ruled in the cities from the earliest time, but the result is after all conjectural and no good purpose would be served here by giving lists of kings concerning whom individually nothing is known. It will be sufficient to mention only the more important of the petty kings until we come to Khammurabi, under whom Babylonia became united. After him we have a list of kings stretching on until the time when Assyria, first a colony of Babylonia, at last conquers

the mother country. After this, for five centuries, Babylon has no history that can be recorded, until under Nabopolassar it again becomes free, and under Nebuchadrezzar becomes great. The early history of Babylonia is, however, the history of petty principalities, and it is necessary to glance briefly at these, bearing in mind that in the nature of the case it is only possible to approximate at chronological order in the narrative.

Lagas.

Recent excavations at Telloh show that this city, which was called Lagas at the first, was the seat of a kingdom in very early times.

Ur-duggina is the first ruler of whom we have definite information. We know that he built a palace, temples and reservoirs, and dug a canal.

Ur-Nina was a later king, who restored the temple at Lagas and set up statues cut out of stone, brought from the Sinaitic peninsula. He also erected palaces on which there is carving in bas-relief.

E-Ana-gin reigned somewhat later, and left monuments showing rude but graphic battle-scenes. His inscriptions make him out to have conquered Elam, and the cities of Ur, Erech and Larsa, as well as countries whose names we do not recognise.

Accad.

The city of Accad in Upper Babylonia had two sovereigns who have left memorials showing them to have been kings of great importance.

Sargon of Accad rose from humble origin to greatness. Like Tiglath-pileser III. he is said to have begun life as a gardener, but he became a powerful king. Having made himself supreme in Northern Babylonia and conquered Elam, he turned his arms westward, made four expeditions into the "land of the Amorites" and reached the Mediterranean, on the shore cliffs of which he cut memorials of his visit. Sargon

built industriously, restoring Accad, and founding a city, Dur-Sargina. He also founded a library, for which a work on astronomy was compiled consisting of seventy-two tablets.

Naram-Sin succeeded his father, and made expeditions as far as the Sinaitic peninsula, or "Magan" as it was then called. This was the region whence the ancient world got its copper and precious stones, and both Babylon and Egypt coveted its possession. The road from Egypt was easy, but Syria had to be traversed before it could be reached from Babylon, and the conquests of Sargon were therefore needed to make those of his son possible. As Sin, the Moon god, was the patron deity of Naram-Sin, the first Babylonian invader of this district, it is possible that the king may have named the mountain of Sinai out of compliment to his god 2,000 years before the Exodus.

Ur.

In Southern Babylonia the city of Ur, now known as Mugheir, and famous as the birthplace of Abram, had important kings at an early date.

Ur-Bau, the earliest known ruler of Ur, left many memorials. In his time building was well understood, and he seems to have erected or restored temples at Ur, Larsa, Erech, Nippur and Lagas. At Ur he built a temple which rose platform above platform in tiers. Brick of every sort was used by the Babylonians, sun dried, kiln dried, and enamelled, but stone had to be brought from a great distance and was used sparingly.

Dungi who succeeded, completed some of the work his father had begun, finishing the tower at Ur, rebuilding the temple at Erech, adding to the temple at Lagas, and building another at Babylon. These facts are ascertained from the impressions on the bricks, and prove that the rule of Dungi must have been obeyed at those cities, that is, over the greater part of Babylonia. Dungi also fixed a standard of weight, which lasted until the time of Nebuchadrezzar.

Whilst Dungi was ruling in Ur, the city of Lagas was

governed by a high priest, Gudea, who acknowledged him as suzerain. Many of the monuments recovered in the course of the excavations of which mention has been made belong to the reign of Gudea, who was an industrious builder and restorer of temples. One of the statues, now in the Louvre, represents the king seated with a plan of a palace upon his knee. The plan is drawn to scale, and Professor Flinders Petrie states that the unit of measurement corresponds with that used in building the Egyptian pyramids. Gudea went far for his material, bringing diorite from Sinai, and limestone and cedar from Lebanon and its neighbourhood.

Karrak.

Another Babylonian city which had kings of its own was Karrak. Two of the kings of this city have left remains, Libit-Istar and Ismi-Dagon, and a fragment of an inscription of Libit-Istar is in the British Museum.

Larsa.

Larsa, the "Ellasar" of Scripture, now called Senkereh, was a leading city of Southern Babylonia. Larsa was conquered by Kudur-Mabug, an Elamite, who established his son Eri-Aku as king under his suzerainty. Eri-aku next fell under the suzerainty of Kudur-Lagamar, king of Elam, who may have been brother of Kudur-Mabug. Kudur-Lagamar was also suzerain over Khammurabi, king of Shinar or Upper Babylonia, and Tudghula, king of the border tribes. Whilst these kings, who are easily identified with Chedorlaomer, Arioch, Amraphel and Tidal, were thus politically connected, they made a raid upon Southern Palestine, then called the land of the Amorites. The value of this particular part of Palestine lay in its naphtha pits, the produce of which could be conveyed to Babylonia. The district had been raided before, and for twelve years the chiefs of the tribes in the district had acknowledged the suzerainty of Chedorlaomer and doubtless sent him an annual tribute in oil, but in the thirteenth year

they rebelled. Chedorlaomer and his vassals therefore invaded the country again, and were at first quite successful, slaying the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and driving their troops into the pits with which the plain was covered. But as they were returning, laden with spoil, they were overtaken by Abram and some Amorite chiefs; and, a night attack being made, they fled in a panic, abandoning their captives and booty. It is likely that this reverse somewhat dimmed the lustre of the suzerain's reputation; for not long after Khammurabi (Amraphel) rebelled, overthrew Chedorlaomer and Arioch, added the territory of the latter to his own dominions, and united Upper and Lower Babylonia under his rule. Thus Babylon became and remained for 1,500 years the capital of the United Kingdom. It is possible, therefore, that the valour of Abram and his allies ended in the freedom of Babylonia, a result which would be the more striking seeing that it was Abram's fatherland.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

KHAMMURABI (the Amraphel of the Old Testament), as the founder of the first Babylonian empire, has an importance amongst Babylonian kings second only to Nebuchadrezzar. Other kings had tried to bring Babylonia under their sway, but their rule had been loose and temporary, whereas Khammurabi welded Babylonia so that it did not again fall asunder.

Inscriptions show that Khammurabi and his successors not only claimed to be kings of Babylonia, but also lords of the western countries, and the connection was not merely nominal, for these fell under the influence of Babylonia to such an extent that Babylonian was the official language throughout Palestine.

There are several notices of Khammurabi, who is referred to as lord over the whole of Babylonia, and boasts of canals dug and cornfields laid out for the people of Sumer and Accad. He was the "destroyer of adversaries, whirlwind of the battle, vanquisher of the people of the enemy, making strife to cease, conqueror of rebels, who shattered warriors like images of clay, and opened up difficult paths".

The dynasty in which Khammurabi figures was Arabian, and continued sometime after his reign, but little is known about the succeeding kings. His great grandson, Ammiditana calls himself "king of the land of the Amorites" and presumably still claimed to rule over Syria and Palestine.

The Arabian dynasty was followed by a Sumerian, after which came one of foreign conquerors from Elam which lay east of Babylonia. This dynasty reigned for a long time, and we have records of some of the kings.

1450. Kara-indas was contemporary with Assur-bel-nisi-su of Assyria. About that time there were disputes between Babylon and Assyria concerning the frontiers, and during the reign of Assur-uballid the dispute was settled by a treaty, and the treaty cemented by marriage between the royal families. A peculiar interest attaches to Burna-buryas because of the letters found in the excavations at Tel el-Amarna, written by
1400. him to Amenhotep IV., king of Egypt. There is nothing very interesting in the letters themselves, the interest lies in the fact that they show that two centuries before the Exodus, correspondence was passing freely between Babylonia and Egypt. More interesting than the letters of the king are the little notes sent home by princesses who had doubtless been given in marriage to princes in the foreign court:—

"To my mistress. . . . Khipa your handmaid. At the feet of my mistress I fall. Health to my mistress."

"To . . . my mistress, your daughter, your handmaid. At the feet of my mistress seven times and seven times I fall."

The Babylonians seem to have disliked the alliance with Assyria and after the death of Burna-buryas a revolt occurred in the course of which the heir to the crown was killed, and Nazi-bugas usurped the throne. The Assyrians made this an excuse for interfering, and their king, Assur-uballid, invaded Babylonia, killed Nazi-bugas and set up Kuri-galzu III., another son of Burna-buryas, in his stead.

Kuri-galzu, though he owed his position to Assyria, was a patriotic Babylonian, and held his own against the Assyrians in war, but his successors were not so fortunate, and Assyria was for a long time in the ascendant.

It would be profitless to follow the fragments of history which constitute the record of the next four centuries. During that period Babylon suffered from two enemies—the Elamites and the Assyrians. The Elamites, a warlike race whose kings had in earlier times ruled over Babylonia, made frequent incursions, and the Assyrians were also troublesome, waging

many wars, in connection with one of which we read of the capture of Baghdad, the first mention of that city in history.

During the reigns of David and Solomon, when the Hebrew kingdom reached its zenith, Assyria was under a cloud, but in the ninth century it revived and Assur-nazir-pal made war on the Babylonians. 960.

Somewhat later there was a dispute in Babylonia concerning the succession. Shalmaneser II. interfered, and, having settled the dispute, marched against the Chaldees—tribes living in the south-west of Babylonia round the mouth of the Euphrates. 853.

Concerning the Chaldees an eminent authority, Mr. George Smith, writes as follows:—

"Of the origin of the Chaldees we know nothing. Some of the early Babylonian dynasties are called Chaldean by Berosus, and we sometimes use the word to designate these early sovereigns, but nothing is really known of the Chaldees at that period, and they are not mentioned in any known document before the twelfth century.

"Their name cannot be identified with that of the Casdim of the Old Testament (translated 'Chaldeans' or 'Chaldees' in our version). The Kaldâ first obtained possession of Babylonia under Merodach-baladan, B.C. 722, and from that time forward formed so integral a part of the population of the country as to give their name to it."

About 810, Rimmon-nirari III. was king of Assyria. His wife's name was Semiramis, and around either her or some other queen of the same name much romance has gathered. Historians have been struck by the circumstance that the king couples her name with his own in an inscription. This was not usual, and as there are legends about a Semiramis who was queen of Babylon it has been suggested that his wife may have been a Babylonian princess to whom he showed this respect in order to conciliate the Babylonians. On the other hand it is stated that "there is not the slightest proof of any political union between the two countries during this reign". 810.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ASSYRIAN WOLF.

747. With the eighth century a new departure can be made in Babylonian history, the annals being more complete and supplemented by a cuneiform document known as the Babylonian Chronicle.

Whilst Nabonassar ruled in Babylon under Assyrian suzerainty (747-733) there was a revolution in Assyria and
745. Pul seized the crown, reigning as Tiglath-pileser III. He was accepted in Assyria, but the Babylonians looked on him as a usurper, and he had much difficulty in compelling their allegiance. At last resistance ceased, and he was formally proclaimed king in Babylon. He was succeeded on the
727. throne of Assyria by Shalmaneser IV., against whom there was a military revolution which ended in the accession of a popular general who took the ancient name of Sargon. This revolution inspired the patriotic party in Babylon, so that they again tried to shake off the yoke. In the wars of independence which followed they were led by Merodach-baladan, a Chaldean hero, whose ancestral territory lay at the mouth of the Euphrates. Under him the Chaldees united,
722. and on the accession of Sargon he marched upon Babylon, overthrew the Assyrian government there, and proclaimed himself king.

Sargon was busy in Syria, and had to leave Babylonia alone for eleven years, during which time Merodach-baladan ruled well and the country prospered. Knowing that Assyria would eventually attack him, he endeavoured to find allies.
712. Hezekiah was at this time king of Judah, and Merodach-

baladan sent an embassy under pretence of congratulating him on his recovery from a severe illness, but really to gain his alliance against Assyria. Sargon was, however, too quick for the confederates. He invaded Babylonia, captured the smaller cities and marched upon the capital, whereupon Merodach-baladan, finding the citizens unreliable, fled to his old province, and Babylon submitted to the Assyrian. Afterwards Sargon followed Merodach-baladan to his fastness, and in spite of a most heroic defence was completely victorious, capturing the king with his family and carrying them to Nineveh. A few years later, when Sargon was murdered and succeeded by 705.
Sennacherib, Babylon again revolted. Merodach-baladan once more headed the rebellion, but he was speedily routed, and driven to the marshes, whilst Sennacherib placed a nominee on the throne of Babylon and left an Assyrian garrison to protect him. Merodach-baladan now gave up the struggle, and with his devoted adherents emigrated to Nagitu, where they founded a new settlement in the country of Elam, and there he died.

Later, Sennacherib prepared a fleet with the aid of his Phœnician subjects, and having sailed down the river to the Persian Gulf where the colony was situated landed and mercilessly rooted out the settlement.

After this he invaded Elam which had helped Babylonia, and ravaged the country, the smoke of the burning cities "obscuring the face of the heavens". Sennacherib's brutality goaded the Chaldeans and Elamites into making another struggle for freedom, and an immense army gathered on the Tigris, but his forces defeated them with terrific slaughter in the battle of Khalule.

Next year Sennacherib marched upon Babylon. Little 689.
attempt was made at resistance, the city was captured, sacked, burnt, levelled with the ground, and flooded with the waters of the Araxes, an adjoining canal.

The cruel measure meted by Sennacherib to others was 681.
measured to himself again, for he was murdered by his elder

sons whilst in the act of worship. Esarhaddon succeeded him, a prince of a better type, who had evidently been out of sympathy with much that his father had done, and now set to work to undo it. In Babylonia he adopted conciliatory methods, rebuilding the capital with its walls, temples and fortifications, and fostering it so carefully that during his reign it recovered much of its former prosperity. The value of the policy of conciliation was seen in the fact, that there were no further rebellions in Babylonia during his reign.

Assur-bani-pal, his eldest son, succeeded him in Assyria, and the crown of Babylonia fell to a younger son, Samas-sum yukin.

668. During the reign of Assur-bani-pal a spirit of restlessness and disaffection spread over the Assyrian Empire. Egypt after revolting again and again at last made good its independence under Psamatik I.; Lydia, which had formerly paid homage to Assyria, actively assisting Psamatik in his struggles. A new power arose in Media, destined to become of great importance; and, worst of all, Elam and Babylonia revolted, and fought with such pertinacity that the resources of Assyria were strained to the utmost. By a supreme effort Assur-bani-pal managed to keep all the empire except Egypt. Elam was invaded and ravaged, Shushan the capital being sacked and destroyed. In Babylonia the king's brother Samas-sum-yukin rebelled, but Babylon was reduced by famine, and the king, despairing of pardon, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. A grandson of Merodach-baladan, Nabu-bel-zikri, the last of the family, had also helped in the revolt, and when he was unrelentingly pursued, he and his armour bearer slew one another.

Babylon was now crushed, and though as rebellious as ever at heart it remained at peace for a time. But even during the reign of Assur-bani-pal Assyria had begun to decay, and the decadence made rapid progress under his successors, Assur-etil-ilani and Sin-sarra-iskun, better known as Saracos. During the reign of the latter the end came.

Nabopolassar had been placed over Babylonia as viceroy, but on the death of Assur-bani-pal had assumed the royal title. Under his rule the country prospered, whilst Assyria, 626.
overrun by the Scythians, and hemmed in by enemies on every side, became weaker continually. At length alliance was made against Nineveh between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, king of the Medes. About the same time Pharaoh Necho invaded Syria and captured Carchemish, whilst Nabopolassar and Cyaxares ravaged the home provinces and at last shut up the king in Nineveh. Saracos made a brave effort to save his kingdom, and the siege lasted for two years; but at length, the walls having been broken down by a flood, the besiegers entered, the king was slain and Nineveh destroyed, as it proved, for 606.
ever.

CHAPTER V.

BABYLON THE GREAT.

THE Assyrian Empire having now come to an end, the spoils, were divided. Necho kept the south-west, Cyaxares received Assyria proper and such northern provinces as had acknowledged her jurisdiction, whilst Babylonia, Elam, and the Euphrates valley fell to Nabopolassar.

606. The destruction of Nineveh marks the beginning of the great Babylonian Empire. It was not long lived, for in about seventy years it had to yield to a greater power, but if its life was short it was magnificent.

It was hardly to be expected that this division of the empire could be permanent. For a time Media and Babylonia were likely to be friendly, because Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabopolassar had married Amytis the daughter of Cyaxares, but with Pharaoh Necho there was no such link, and in a short time Babylon and Egypt were at war. The Babylonians were led by Nebuchadrezzar, and a great battle was fought at Carchemish in which the Egyptians

604. were completely routed, and the battle would have been followed by the invasion of Egypt but for the death of Nabopolassar, which made the presence of Nebuchadrezzar advisable in Babylon.

The military prowess shown by Nebuchadrezzar removed any chance of difficulty about the succession, and he became king of Babylon, reigning forty-four years. He was a mighty monarch, and the creator of the Babylon of our imagination. True, the genius of his father had founded the dynasty and helped to break the overshadowing power of the Assyrian, but

when Nabopolassar died Babylon was still little better than a provincial town. Nebuchadrezzar made it the most wonderful city of the time, so wonderful that its name has ever since been synonymous with worldly pomp and pride. Our conception of the greatness of ancient cities is apt to be exaggerated, because early writers, comparing one thing with another, spoke of cities as great which would seem to us now to be of moderate dimensions. But Babylon was a great city, even viewed with modern eyes. It was twelve miles square, and in its walls were 250 towers, and sixty gates of bronze. The Euphrates ran through the middle of the city, spanned by a bridge of hewn stone, with fine embankments and a magnificent royal palace on either side. At one end rose the temple of the god Bel, storey above storey, ascended by winding steps, gradually diminishing in width, until the uppermost storey was reached, where stood a golden image of the god. In another part of the city were the hanging gardens, built for the gratification of Queen Amytis, arched terraces covered with rich soil in which trees and flowers grew luxuriantly.

Nebuchadrezzar did not neglect the other cities of Babylonia. He built many temples and public buildings in the provincial cities, constructed numerous canals, and near Sippara made a huge reservoir for irrigation. Nevertheless, his name is specially associated with Babylon, for the glory whereof the resources of the empire were ransacked, and concerning which he could at last say: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built, for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"

Our knowledge of the foreign affairs of the Babylonian Empire during this period is not extensive, and being obtained for the most part from Hebrew writers, refers more particularly to their connection with the empire. After the death of Josiah at Megiddo, Pharaoh Necho had made Jehoiakim king of Judah, and after the defeat of his suzerain at Carchemish, Jehoiakim paid tribute to Nebuchadrezzar and preserved peace for a time. At last he rebelled, and having been

defeated, was carried captive to Babylon—Jehoiachin, his son, reigning in his stead. The son proving as rebellious as the father, Nebuchadrezzar besieged and captured Jerusalem and took the leading men to Babylon, none remaining "save the
598. poorest sort of the people of the land". Amongst the captives taken at this time were Daniel and his companions.

Nebuchadrezzar gave Jerusalem another chance under Zedekiah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, but as he plotted with Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), Nebuchadrezzar had to besiege Jerusalem once again. The Egyptians made an effort to help Zedekiah, but were driven back, and Jerusalem was captured.
588. The temple was burned, the city destroyed, and the inhabitants carried captive to Babylon. Zedekiah fled, but was made prisoner and condemned to gaze upon the slaughter of his children, after which, his eyes having been put out, he was led blinded and in chains to Babylon.

There were now two Jewish kings in prison at Babylon, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, and the miserable remnant of the people left in Palestine were placed under the control of Gedaliah, the seat of government being removed to Mizpah. Gedaliah was murdered shortly after by returned fugitive soldiers, and many of the Jews, both innocent and guilty, fearing the wrath of Nebuchadrezzar, fled to Egypt and settled there. Afterwards Palestine was again ravaged by the Babylonians, and such Jews as remained were removed.

The marriage between Nebuchadrezzar and the daughter of Cyaxares insured peace between Babylon and Media for a time, and when war arose between Media and Lydia, Nebuchadrezzar helped Cyaxares, but after a tedious conflict the
585. superstitious alarm created by an eclipse of the sun afforded an opportunity for the conclusion of peace between the combatants.

During the reign of Nebuchadrezzar Tyre was besieged
573. for thirteen years, and when it capitulated it was only on condition that its king should continue to reign though under Babylonian suzerainty.

There is fragmentary evidence that, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, Nebuchadrezzar invaded Egypt, and defeated and deposed Pharaoh Hophra. But there is no certainty on the subject. 567.

The wars of Nebuchadrezzar extended over thirty-three years, and when they were finished his empire stretched from Persia to Egypt, and from Cilicia to the Persian Gulf. But the empire was of an artificial character, depending, as the Assyrian had done, upon military prowess. It had, therefore, but a transient greatness, for when the master hand of Nebuchadrezzar was removed decay speedily set in.

For the record of the last years of Nebuchadrezzar, we are chiefly indebted to Daniel. There was peace in Babylonia, but the king was mentally under a cloud, apparently suffering from a species of insanity known as lycanthropy, and kept in seclusion in the palace grounds whilst the queen and his son acted in his stead. After seven years of insanity his intellect returned to him, and with the return of his intellect came also a change of heart.

"I Nebuchadrezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honoured Him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom is from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and He doeth according to His will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay His hand, or say unto Him, What doest Thou?

"Now I Nebuchadrezzar praise, and extol, and honour the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and His ways judgment: and those that walk in pride He is able to abase."

Apparently he was esteemed by his people and his recovery was hailed with gladness, but he died not long after, having reigned forty-four years and being about eighty years old. 562.

It is not easy to sum up the character of this remarkable man. He was a great warrior, a great architect, a great

engineer, and a great ruler. Undoubtedly also he was a great despot. The slaughter of the children of Zedekiah and blinding of the king were terrible acts, and showed that Nebuchadrezzar had a good deal of the tiger in him at times, yet his wars were not specially cruel, and compared with what Assyrian wars had been, they were mildness itself. He had much oriental impulsiveness. When his ordinary soothsayers could not recall his dream he commanded all the wise men in Babylon to be destroyed; when Daniel told him the dream and its interpretation he worshipped him, and commanded every one else to do the same. He set up a golden image and proclaimed that those who did not worship it were to be cast into the fire; and when the Hebrew youths, refusing, were saved by a miracle, he turned in a moment and declared that those of his subjects who would not worship the god of these men should be cut in pieces and their houses made a dunghill. His respect for Daniel, and his kindness to him, in spite of very faithful speaking, showed that he had a good heart. Undoubtedly Nebuchadrezzar was a great man, and we may go farther, and believe that so far as his light went, he was also a good man.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FALL OF BABYLON.

EVIL-MERODACH succeeded to his father, but had only reigned 562.
two years when his brother-in-law, Nergal-sharezer, conspired against him, and he was assassinated. The pretext was "lawlessness," but it is likely that the lawlessness was on the side of the king's enemies. What we know about Evil-Merodach is all to his advantage. One of his first acts was to release Jehoiachin from his long imprisonment, and to treat him with kindly consideration. It has been conjectured that Evil-Merodach may have been influenced by the later events of his father's life, and may have been showing an indulgence towards the Hebrew religion which alarmed the orthodox worshippers of Bel.

Nergal-sharezer succeeded, enjoying his ill-gotten honours 560.
for four years, and his successor, Labasi-Merodach, the last survivor of the dynasty, reigned for nine months only.

Nabonidos who next ascended the throne, and reigned for 556.
seventeen years, was the last of the Babylonian kings. He seems to have been unpopular amongst his own people, giving offence to the provincial cities and to those interested in the provincial temples by an endeavour to concentrate political and religious life in Babylon. During his reign Babylonia steadily declined, and a new power arose in the east. After the inroad of the Scythians and the attacks of the Medes and Babylonians had destroyed the Assyrian empire, Babylonia had four separate nationalities lying on its frontier: the Manda, or barbarians, whose capital was at Ecbatana; the Medes, whose territory lay farther north—between Ecbatana

and the Caspian; the Elamites dwelling in the mountains due east of Babylonia; and the Persians dwelling east of Elam on the Persian Gulf. Of all these the Manda, who were remnants of the Scythian invaders, were the most formidable; their king was Astyages, and Cyrus, the king of Elam, acknowledged his suzerainty.

At this time Nabonidos and Cyrus were apparently on friendly terms, Astyages being the power feared by both. The districts north of Babylonia were ruled over by the Manda, and they had destroyed the temple of Sin, the Moon god, at Harran. In an inscription found at Sippara, Nabonidos declares that the god Merodach appeared to him in a dream and instructed him to rebuild the temple; and when he pleaded that he was not strong enough to overcome the Manda, he was informed that one would be raised up to destroy them. Nabonidos accordingly ventured to carry out the will of the god, and restored the temple. Many legends have gathered round the name of Cyrus, but the fact seems to be that Nabonidos and Astyages
549. were at war when Cyrus came up in alliance with the former and attacked Astyages, his suzerain. Astyages was defeated, and his army mutinied and handed their king over bound to Cyrus. Cyrus thus added to Elam, his own kingdom, all the provinces subject to Astyages, amongst which were those of the Medes. Shortly afterwards he obtained Persia, the more easily as he was a descendant of the Persian royal house, so that his victory over Astyages enabled him to unite in one kingdom the Manda, Medes, Persians and Elamites.

Cyrus was now a powerful monarch and his rapid progress alarmed his neighbours, the most important of whom were the Babylonians and Lydians. Crœsus was king of Lydia and he made alliance with Babylon, but Cyrus was too quick for him and attacked him before any help could come from Nabonidos. The first battle was doubtful, but Crœsus was negligent, and
546. Cyrus, following him up, defeated him utterly, capturing Sardis, his capital, so that Cyrus' kingdom had now become a great empire, extending from the Caspian to the Mediterranean.

He was now in a position to overwhelm Babylonia, and Nabonidos fortified himself and made ready for the attack which must speedily come. In this work he was aided by his son Belshazzar whom he associated with him in the kingdom, and by one called in the inscriptions "the king's mother". Cyrus first turned his attention to the warlike tribes on his northern frontier. Against these he made several campaigns continuing until all had submitted.

He then marched against Babylonia from the north, but could not break through the fortifications, and had to retire. It happened, however, that Nabonidos had amongst his subjects many who were disaffected. He had alienated some of his own people by interfering with the provincial temples, but apart from these Babylonia was largely populated by exiles, brought there by former kings in accordance with the transplanting policy so popular with eastern conquerors. With these Cyrus doubtless intrigued, and to such effect that when the army again advanced under Gobryas, his general, marching this time from the south-east, it was quickly victorious. A battle was fought near Sippara, in which Nabonidos was defeated, after which Sippara, the second city in the kingdom, surrendered, and shortly afterwards Babylon opened its gates 538.
without a siege. The siege of Babylon which we have been accustomed to connect with the name of Cyrus must have taken place later, during the reign of Darius Hystaspis, who besieged the city twice. Nabonidos was captured and kept in chains in Babylon for four months, when he died or perhaps more probably was executed in prison. There is some doubt about what happened to Belshazzar. He is mentioned in one of the inscriptions as Nabonidos' eldest son, and had command of the forces in the camp at Sippara. It was formerly thought that he fell in the assault on Babylon, but Babylon was not assaulted at that time, and he probably either fell in the battle near Sippara or was assassinated. Having been associated by his father with him in the kingdom, he is correctly spoken of as king, and the accuracy of

the Old Testament in matters of detail is strikingly exemplified by the circumstance that Belshazzar, when conferring honour upon Daniel for having interpreted the writing upon the wall, "made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom," for now we know that Nabonidos was first and Belshazzar second, so that Daniel could only be third.

538. The authority of Cyrus being now recognised in Babylon he took steps to make himself popular, first, by reversing the centralising policy of Nabonidos and restoring the provincial temples to their former importance, and second, by permitting the exiles to return to their native land. Amongst these were the Jews, to whom he showed no little kindness. This was formerly attributed to his supposed sympathy with their religious faith, for it was believed that Cyrus was a Persian monotheist, but we now know that though of Persian origin he was an Elamite and a worshipper of the gods of Babylonia. His favour towards the Jews was therefore dictated by policy, but it was kindly and the Jews never forgot it.

529. Cambyses succeeded his father as king of the Medes and Persians, and though he was not as estimable a man as his father he was not guilty of the absurd acts of cruelty and irreligion which have been associated with his name. His reign is memorable for the conquest of Egypt, where he spent so much of his time that there was a rebellion at home and a Magian priest named Gomates seized the throne, pretending to be a son of Cyrus. On his way home to suppress this revolt Cambyses died, but the usurper was afterwards slain by

521. Darius Hystaspis, who now ascended the throne.

Darius was a Persian, and of royal descent; he had no hereditary right to the throne, and the risings against him were so numerous that the empire seemed to be breaking up; but he showed extraordinary ability and conquered all enemies. Amongst the rest the Babylonians rebelled twice, and twice were conquered, the fortifications of Babylon being destroyed

514. on the occasion of the second rebellion.

During the reign of Xerxes, whilst the king was absent in Greece, Babylon again rebelled, and when Xerxes returned and crushed the revolt, he still further injured the city, destroying the temple of Bel, its chief architectural ornament. Babylon continued, however, to be a city of importance, and when Alexander of Macedon conquered the Persian Empire, he contemplated making it his capital and restoring its former glory. Whilst living at Babylon and exploring the river with a view to carrying out irrigation work, he caught malarial fever and died, and at his death the empire was dismembered. Eventu- 323.
ally the satrapy of Babylon fell into the hands of Seleucus who built a new city on the Tigris, named Seleucia, to which he removed much of the material of Babylon and such population as remained. After this the city fell rapidly to pieces, until only mounds of rubbish remained to mark the site once occupied by "this great Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency".

ASSYRIA.

TABLE OF THE KINGS.

	B.C.		B.C.
Bel-kapkapi		Samsi-Rimmon I. . .	1070
Assur-sum-esir		Assur-nazir-pal II. . .	1050
Bir-tiglath-Assur		Assur-irbi	
Irba-Rimmon		Tiglath-pileser II. . .	950
Assur-nadin-akhi I.		Assur-dan II. . . .	930
Assur-bel-nisi-su . .	1450	Rimmon-nirari II. . .	911
Buzur-Assur . . .	1440	Tiglath-Bir II. . . .	889
Assur-nadin-akhi II. .	1420	Assur-nazir-pal III. . .	883
Assur-uballid . . .	1400	Shalmaneser II. . .	858
Bel-nirari	1380	Assur-dain-pal . . .	825
Pudil	1360	Samsi-Rimmon II. .	823
Rimmon-nirari I. . .	1340	Rimmon-nirari III. .	810
Shalmaneser I. . .	1320	Shalmaneser III. . .	781
Tiglath-Bir I. . . .	1300	Assur-dan III. . .	771
Azzur-nazir-pal I. . .	1280	Assur-nirari . . .	753
Tiglath-Assur-Bel . .	1275	Tiglath-pileser III. (Pul) .	745
Assur-narara . . .	1260	Shalmaneser IV. (Ulula) .	727
Nebodan	1250	Sargon	722
Bel-kudur-azur . . .	1225	Sennacherib . . .	705
Bir-pileser . . .	1215	Esarhaddon . . .	681
Assur-dan I. . . .	1185	Assur-bani-pal . . .	668
Mutaggil-Nebo . . .	1160	Assur-etil-ilani	625
Assur-ris-ilim . . .	1140	Sin-sarra-iskun (Saracos)	619
Tiglath-pileser I. . .	1120	Fall of Nineveh . .	606
Assur-bel-kala . . .	1090		

Based upon Sayce, *Early Israel*, 1899.

ASSYRIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

Assyria was the district which lay immediately north of Babylonia. The Babylonian monarchy had been many centuries in existence, and as its territory extended the centre of gravity moved northward, from Ur to Erech, from Erech to Babylon. The northern territory was more pleasant to live in than Babylonia. The country was varied, for though, like Babylonia, Assyria had much desert on its western frontier, there were fine mountain ranges towards the east, and the heat of summer was tempered by the mountain breeze. There was also abundance of water, not only from the great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, but from serviceable tributaries such as the Eastern and Western Khabour and the Upper and Lower Zab. The best lands lay on the Tigris, especially on its eastern side. Here were plains, of limited size but of great fertility, upon which towns and villages sprang up until the country was well peopled. The first city of importance was Assur (Waterbank), the primitive capital, from which came the name of the country, and that also of its patron deity. Assur, however, did not remain the capital. As in the case of Babylonia so in Assyria, the centre of gravity moved northward, and at last settled in Nineveh. Between Assur and Nineveh lay Calah, and east of Nineveh on the Lower Zab lay Arbela where, many years after Nineveh had been destroyed and the Assyrian Empire had ceased to exist,

the battle was fought between Darius and Alexander which settled the fate of the Persian Empire.

There was much similarity at first between the Assyrians and the Babylonians, but as time went on differences developed. The Babylonians were a mixed race formed by a union between the Semitic and the earlier Accadian folk. The Assyrians were more purely Semitic, of the same stock as the Hebrews and Arabs. The Babylonians were peaceful in disposition, given to agriculture, fond of literature, well educated and comparatively humane in the conduct of their wars. The Assyrians cared little for agriculture, their wars were undertaken for the sake of plunder, and were conducted with ferocity. "The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his caves with prey, and his dens with ravin." The Assyrians had less humanity than their contemporaries. The conquering races of the East were never very tender in their methods, but in their inscriptions the Assyrian kings gloat over their cruelty. They were better at fighting than at governing and though their kings terrorised over a wide area, extending at one time from Armenia to Egypt and from Media to the Mediterranean, their hold upon the subject populations was unsystematic and slight. During the seventh century Lydia, Cyprus, Egypt, Elam, Babylonia and portions of Media and Arabia were under Assyrian suzerainty and paying tribute with more or less regularity; but their empire was founded purely upon military prowess and when the tide turned empire, capital, and nation were swept away.

The Assyrians brought their religion from Babylonia, but as idolatry generally carries with it the conception of local deities, there were differences in detail. Their chief deity was Assur, the patron and impersonation of the State, and amongst other gods were Bel Merodach; Nebo, whose worship extended to Canaan; Rimmon, also worshipped in Damascus; Sin, the Moon god, with temples at Ur and Harran; Samas, the Sun god, and Istar, the evening star, widely worshipped

by many nations under many names. The names of the kings of ancient times look so outlandish because the monarchs adopted throne names in order to compliment particular deities. For instance, Bel-nirari means "Bel is my helper"; Assur-nirari, "Assur is my help"; Pudil, "redeemed of God"; Shalmaneser, "the god of peace is chief"; Sargon, "the constituted king"; Sennacherib, "the Moon god has multiplied the brethren," and so on.

Their methods of worship somewhat resembled those of the Hebrews; they had sacrifices and meat offerings, and there is no trace of human sacrifice among them. They had religious hymns; sacred books, consisting chiefly of incantations; and even a liturgy of prayers to the various gods. They had also penitential psalms, from one of which a few lines may be quoted:—

O my God, thou givest not rest to thy servant.
In the waters of the raging flood take his hand.
The sin he has sinned turn into good.
Let the wind carry away the transgression I have committed.
Destroy my manifold wickedness like a garment.
O my God, seven times seven are my transgressions, my transgressions are ever before me.

The Sabbath was observed by both Assyrians and Babylonians as a day of rest, "on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days of the lunar month". The Assyrians had traditions of the creation, the deluge, and the dispersion at the building of the Tower of Babel. In their main features these traditions, which were of Babylonian origin, agree with the Scriptural narrative, but lack its majestic simplicity.

The Assyrians were not so fond of literature as the Babylonians, amongst whom education was widely diffused, and such literature as they had was mostly Babylonian in origin. The writing was in the well-known cuneiform or wedge-shaped characters on clay tablets; and these were baked in the kiln, instead of being merely dried in the sun as in

Babylonia. On some of the tablets the writing is so fine that a magnifying glass is needed to read it, so that it must have been written with the aid of a lens, and, indeed, a magnifying lens was actually discovered at Nineveh on the site of the library. Several libraries were founded in Assyria, at Assur, Calah and Nineveh, the last being largely the work of Assur-bani-pal, who plundered Babylon for its sake. When the Assyrian empire was overthrown, Nineveh, with its palaces and library, was so thoroughly destroyed that its very site was doubtful when Alexander the Great visited the place two centuries after, but modern explorers have recovered its books and monuments, and we can now study the originals as they came from the hands of the scribes.

In Babylonia the best buildings were the temples—in Assyria the palaces. These were built largely of brick, the walls sometimes lined with alabaster sculptured in bas-relief and picked out in colours. Some of the palaces were superb, the sculpture was good, and original in character, the interiors being elaborately decorated, whilst outside were exquisite pillars, and strange images of bulls, lions and sacred figures.

Amongst the tablets which have been discovered are many dealing with astronomy, and though there is much astrology mixed with it, it is evident that the Babylonians and Assyrians were advanced in astronomical science and mathematics. Others are contract tablets, military despatches, and treatises upon agriculture, history or poetry; whilst the most important of all are the official lists, by means of which it has been found possible to fix both Assyrian and Old Testament chronology with some certainty from B.C. 911.

There is little said in the inscriptions about commerce, but we know that the Assyrians traded widely. In Ezekiel we read how they traded with Tyre "in blue cloths, and broidered work, and chests of rich apparel," and Assyrian merchants trafficked with India, Egypt, and probably, through the Phœnicians, even as far as Spain. Weaving and dyeing reached a high state of perfection in Assyria, as well as metal work

and engraving on precious stones. Unlike many Orientals the Assyrians used chairs and tables, and their furniture was often extremely elegant. They were fond of good living, and had flowers, music and wine at their banquets. Polygamy and slavery prevailed, there was property in land, and leases have been found with cropping clauses.

There was nothing novel about the Assyrian form of government. The king was absolute in theory, his absolutism being, as in all autocratic countries, tempered by fear of revolution, or assassination. Among his councillors the commander-in-chief was called "Tartan," the Prime Minister "Rabshakeh". At first Assyria was a dependency of Babylon, governed by viceroys, but as population increased it threw off the Babylonian yoke, and at last reversed matters, making Babylon the subject state.

During the early period known as the First Empire the kings were very warlike, and themselves led their armies—raiding and plundering far and wide; but they took little pains to weld the conquered nations into a homogeneous kingdom. During the Second Empire the wars were carried on rather for the development of trade, and the later kings lived luxuriously, whilst their generals did the fighting. The Assyrian armies moved rapidly, were highly disciplined, and skilled in the use of the bow.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE RISES.

ASSYRIAN history during the early period is vague; but, as Assyria was an offshoot of Babylonia, we are spared the mythological dynasties in which other nations delighted. At first the country was governed by viceroys subject to Babylonia—those chosen being the high priests of Assur, at that time the capital city of the new province. We know from the inscriptions that somewhere about the nineteenth century the country was governed by Isme-Dagon, who was succeeded by his son Samsi-Rimmon, who built a temple at Assur. The history of Assyria as an independent kingdom may be taken to begin when Bel-kapkapi assumed the title of king. A
1600. later king, Assur-sum-esir, had quarrels with Babylonia about the frontier, which in the reigns of his successors ripened
1400. into war. In the reign of Assur-uballid the dispute was settled for a time by a treaty confirmed by marriage between the royal families. At Tel el-Amarna in Egypt many tablets have been found, and amongst these there is a letter from Assur-uballid to Amenhotep IV., the Pharaoh of that day. It is to the following effect.

"To Amenhotep, king of Egypt, my brother, thus: I, Assur-uballid, king of Assur, the great king, am thy brother. To thee, to thy house, and to thy country, may there be peace! When I saw thy ambassadors I rejoiced greatly; I sent orders that thy ambassadors should come into my presence. A chariot, the choicest in my kingdom, with its harness and two white horses, I have made ready, and have sent thee also a chariot without harness and a seal of white

marble as a present for thee. When Assur-nadin-akhi my father sent an embassy to Egypt, he received twenty talents of gold. When the king of Hani-rabbat sent an embassy to thy father he received twenty talents of gold. Tell me what thou desirest that thy ambassadors may take."

This was written during the period of Egypt's greatness. In the fifteenth century Thothmes III. had made his power felt far and wide, and Assyria and Babylon had been overawed; but, during Amenhotep's reign there was much religious dissension and foreign conquest was not attempted. During this period, therefore, the Assyrian kings, Assur-uballid and his successors, Bel-nirari, Pudil and Rimmon-nirari I. became powerful, and absorbed the adjacent states. An inscription of the last king describes wars against the Babylonians, Kurds and Aramæans. With increase of empire, the population and wealth of Assyria also increased, Nineveh was enlarged and beautified, and may have been sometimes used as a royal residence, though Assur was still the capital.

Shalmaneser I. who succeeded his father Rimmon-nirari I., 1320.
greatly improved the cities of Calah and Nineveh, and built a palace at the latter place, so that Assur became of less importance.

Tiglath-Bir I. reigned next. His chief residence was at 1300.
Nineveh, but he invaded Babylonia, brought it temporarily under Assyrian sway, and seems to have resided for some time in Babylon.

Tiglath-pileser I. the founder of the first Assyrian empire 1120.
left an important memorial, in the shape of a cylinder inscription, now in the British Museum, which gives an account of the first five years of his reign.

The inscription begins by glorifying the gods of Assyria; Assur, the supreme; Bel, the lord of the world; Sin, the wise; Samas, the judge of heaven and earth; Istar, the first born, and so on.

Next comes a glorification of himself, Tiglath-pileser, king of kings, lord of lords, the ever-victorious hero.

Then follows an account of his campaigns, against Meshech, against the Hittites, into the mountains of Zagros, against the people of Nairi, who were chased to the Lake of Van, and the Syrians, who were smitten at a blow.

"I carried away their possessions, I burned their cities with fire, I demanded from their hostages tribute and contributions, I laid on them the heavy yoke of my rule."

After this the inscription goes on to speak of his prowess as a hunter, and of his more peaceful achievements as a builder and restorer of palaces and temples.

Then follows an invocation to the gods, and a curse against any who shall erase his writings or break his tablets.

"May the gods consign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! May he fly vanquished before his enemies! May Rimmon in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and race perish!"

Tiglath-Pileser I. crossed the Euphrates several times and even reached the Mediterranean upon the waters of which he embarked. He was a daring hunter, and kept at Assur a park of animals suitable for the chase. At Nineveh he had a botanical garden, in which he planted specimens of foreign trees gathered during his campaigns.

We owe our detailed knowledge of Tiglath-pileser's reign chiefly to his cylinder, and for two centuries after his reign Assyrian history sinks into obscurity. It is interesting to notice that the period of obscurity corresponds with the rise of the Hebrew monarchy. Tiglath-pileser I. was a contemporary of Eli, and the Hebrew monarchy was founded during the reign of his immediate successors. Under Saul the kingdom did not expand, but under David and Solomon it reached a "climax of splendour and power," stretching itself as far as

the Euphrates, and absorbing tribes formerly attached to the Assyrian Empire. On the death of Solomon, the Hebrew monarchy was divided, and Syria became once more an assortment of petty principalities.

At last, however, Assyria came from under the cloud, and her kings, helped by the weakness of their neighbours, re-asserted themselves.

With the reign of Rimmon-nirari II. accurate chronology 911.
begins. As far back as his reign it was the custom for the chief officers to keep a dated record of important events. The lists were kept with great care, and copies have been found from which we have a reliable record from 911 to the time when Nineveh was destroyed. This record is known as the Assyrian Canon, and is the more interesting as it fixes dates in Jewish history as well.

CHAPTER III.

THE EMPIRE SPREADS.

883. ASSUR-NAZIR-PAL III., grandson of Rimmon-nirari II., was a warlike monarch, and subdued the tribes on every side. He had fewer difficulties to face than his predecessors, for the Hittites were broken up and neither Judah nor Israel had now any hold upon Syria. Assur-nazir-pal, accordingly, made many expeditions, crossing the Orontes, passing Lebanon, and arriving at the Mediterranean, thus emulating the feat performed by Tiglath-Pileser I. two centuries before. The record of his campaigns is not pleasant reading, for he boasts of pyramids of heads, flaying captives alive, burning children and the like. Wherever he went he ravaged and destroyed, and brought back with him many prisoners and much spoil. Nevertheless, he gave the empire a fresh start and it advanced, growing in strength for two centuries, until in the reign of Assur-bani-pal it reached its climax, and then suddenly, and in the hour of its splendour, fell to rise no more.

858. Shalmaneser II. succeeded and reigned for thirty-five years. Two inscriptions of his time have been found—one having his figure sculptured upon it, the other an obelisk of black stone inscribed on its four sides. A third monument consists of the bronze framework of two huge temple doors with embossed reliefs and explanatory inscriptions. Shalmaneser's reign consisted of a monotonous series of campaigns, north, south, east and west. He personally conducted twenty-three of these, and when he retired to spend the evening of his life at Calah, he did not cease to send his armies forth. His reign has this special interest that in it Assyria and Israel

came into contact for the first time. Shalmaneser in consecutive expeditions reached the Euphrates, and at length made good his footing on the western side, so that the way lay open for invading Syria and Palestine. He first attacked 853.
Hamath, and as this brought him perilously near Israel and Damascus, Ahab and Benhadad II., the kings of these countries, made common cause with the king of Hamath, but the confederacy was defeated at Karkar, though the struggle was so severe that Shalmaneser did not attempt to follow up his victory.

After several unsuccessful expeditions, when, twelve years later, Benhadad had been murdered, and Ahab slain at Ramoth Gilead, Shalmaneser again advanced, completely defeated the 841.
army of Hazael, ravaged the surrounding country, and received tribute and humble submission from Jehu, who is styled "the son of Omri" in the inscription.

After this victory Shalmaneser II. raided Phœnicia, Ar- 839.
menia and Cappadocia, but at length growing too old to lead his armies in person he entrusted them to his generals.

His last years were spent chiefly in Calah, a city greatly beautified by his father and himself. He did not forget Assur, which he restored and strengthened, and in Nineveh he improved the palace, and adorned the temple. Nevertheless the inhabitants of these cities grumbled at the preference shown to Calah, and his eldest son, Assur-dain-pal, tired of waiting for the sceptre, headed a revolution and reigned at Nineveh for seven years as a rival king. The rebellion was at length put down by his second son, who succeeded to the throne as 823.
Samsi-Rimmon II., and after reigning for about twelve years was followed by his son Rimmon-nirari III.

Rimmon-nirari III. was young when he ascended the 810.
throne and the beginning of his reign was pacific, but as he grew older he fell little behind his grandfather Shalmaneser II. in warlike propensity. He reigned for twenty-nine years, and the Assyrian Canon credits him with twenty-seven campaigns. Several of these were in the west where Damascus

opposed him. At length it submitted, after which no other state in that neighbourhood made a stand—the Hittites, Phœnicians, Edomites, Philistines and Israelities becoming tributary and sending gifts. Rimmon-nirari III. was married to a queen of the name of Semiramis, and, contrary to Assyrian custom, her name is mentioned in connection with his own in an inscription.

781. Shalmaneser III. next reigned. His chief troubles were with Armenia, a state which was becoming powerful. It had enjoyed a succession of able kings, under whom cuneiform writing and various arts had been introduced, and the strength of the country had so increased that the Armenians did not hesitate to make incursions into Assyrian territory.

771. Assur-dan III. succeeded. Little is known about his reign, but the little that is known is interesting. It is recorded in the Assyrian Canon that in the year which corresponds to 763 "the city of Assur revolted, and the sun was eclipsed". Astronomers have calculated and found that on 15th June, 763, an eclipse of the sun was visible in Assyria, so that we have in this incident a remarkable proof of the accuracy of the canon.

753. Assur-nirari now ascended the throne, and was the last of his line. The fortunes of Assyria had reached a low ebb, the revolt of Assur had lasted for three years, the other cities were discontented, the outlying provinces had fallen away, and the empire had ceased to be of importance. At length a revolt broke out which assumed formidable dimensions, the army joined it, Assur-nirari succumbed, and Pul seized the throne, assuming the title of Tiglath-pileser III. It is noteworthy that the date of the accession of Assur-nirari is also the date usually assigned to one of the greatest events in the world's history—the foundation of Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

PUL AND SHALMANESER IV.

THE identity of Pul was long a mystery. No such name 745.
occurs in the Assyrian canon, yet in the Scripture we read that "there came against the land Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem gave Pul 1000 talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand". We now know that Pul was the original name of Tiglath-pileser III., who is said to have begun life as a gardener, to have distinguished himself as a soldier, and been elevated to the throne by the army. Once seated there he proved a most capable monarch, rescuing the empire from the destruction which threatened it, and so re-establishing it that he is fitly spoken of as the founder of the Second Assyrian empire.

In founding this second empire Tiglath-pileser's methods differed from those of his predecessors. They had been merely raiders and plunderers, but he organised the empire and divided it into provinces, each of which had to pay a fixed tribute to the exchequer.

It would be tedious to narrate his campaigns in detail. The empire had been at a low ebb, and he was the man for the times. Year after year he sallied forth until none dared dispute his power. He reigned for eighteen years, and in that time so spread the boundaries of the empire that they extended from Armenia to Egypt, and from Persia to the Mediterranean. During his reign Assyria began on a large scale the system of transplanting people from one country to another. It was a cruel and heartless way of trying to break down national spirit, and it probably failed of its purpose.

The love of mankind for country is instinctive, and although the rude tearing asunder of ties may for a moment make united action less easy, seeds of bitterness are sown which bear a harvest of eternal hatred.

During the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III., Ahaz sat upon the throne of Judah. Having suffered terribly by reason of attacks made upon him by Rezon of Damascus, and Pekah of Israel, Ahaz entreated protection from Tiglath-Pileser; and the Assyrian king, nothing loth, marched westward and attacked Rezon, whom he overthrew and shut up in Damascus.
732. Two years later the city fell, Rezon was slain, and the inhabitants were carried away captive. Meanwhile Israel also had been overrun, the country reduced to the condition of a desert and the trans-Jordan tribes carried into captivity. At the same time, the Philistines, Edomites and Arabians were subdued; and after the fall of Damascus, Tiglath-pileser held a durbar which was attended by many princes, amongst whom was Ahaz.

It was during the reign of this great monarch that Jonah delivered his message against Nineveh. It was long thought that Nineveh must have been a city of vast proportions, because the narrative speaks of 120,000 persons who could not discern between their right hand and their left. Commentators have taken this to mean children, and have therefore estimated the gross population at 1,000,000 but recent discoveries prove Nineveh to have been a city of moderate size, and the reference seems to be, not to children specially, but to the poorer inhabitants, who were not involved in the guilt of the king and his court. In Oriental cities two classes predominate—the wealthy, living in shameful luxury, and often in gross sin; and the poor, living on the brink of starvation. To this latter class God's heart went out in pity, and it was their case He said the prophet should not have forgotten.

The ruins found on the Tigris, and identified with Nineveh, have an extreme circumference of eight miles, and

might have contained a population of 175,000 souls, but there were smaller cities in close proximity, and the gross population of the district must have been considerable. It may seem surprising that a Hebrew prophet should have dared to appear in such a place with such a message, but in the East a holy man is treated with respect even by those who are not co-religionists. Idolaters are essentially tolerant, for they not only believe in their own gods but in other peoples' gods as well. Hence the Greeks, lest they should fail in reverence towards any particular deity, had an altar "to the unknown god," and hence, also, the mariners aroused Jonah and besought him to call upon his god, lest through him the evil had come.

Jonah's appearance and solemn warning, therefore, created not anger but alarm, and a repentance both in Tiglath-pileser and his people, which was for the moment sincere. Nineveh got a respite, the doom which at last overtook it being postponed for a century.

Tiglath-pileser's last campaigns were in Babylonia, which 731.
had been nominally annexed but not entirely subdued. This he now remedied, Babylon and many other cities being captured and the king slain. But Tiglath-pileser did not long survive his rival, and was succeeded by Ulula, who took the name of Shalmaneser IV.

Shalmaneser IV. reigned but for five years, and not very 727.
much is known of him. The inscriptions which have been found relating to this period are mostly commercial in character, and give us a glimpse of that side of Assyrian life. They show that Assyria was now a prosperous country with an extensive commerce. There is a record of one expedition to Babylonia undertaken by Shalmaneser, but his campaigns were chiefly directed against Palestine. The death of Tiglath-pileser III. encouraged the subject peoples, and Samaria and Tyre rebelled, but when Shalmaneser marched against them they submitted. Afterwards they revolted a second time, and he returned and invested Tyre. The other Phœnician

cities, partly through coercion, partly envious of Tyre, lent him their ships, and he attacked the city from the sea, but his fleet was destroyed by a Tyrian fleet only one fifth its size, and he had to settle down to a tedious blockade on the land side. Shalmaneser also besieged Samaria, over which Hoshea was king, but whilst these sieges were in progress a military revolution took place, he died, or more probably was murdered, and Sargon succeeded him as king.

CHAPTER V.

SARGON.

THE usurper who now sat on the throne of Assyria, taking 722.
the name of one of the early kings of Babylonia, and claiming descent from Bel-bani an ancient Assyrian conqueror, proved a most energetic sovereign, reigning for seventeen years and overcoming all enemies. He infused new vigour into the war which Shalmaneser had begun. Shortly after his accession 722.
Samaria fell, the leading inhabitants were carried into captivity, and the Israelitish section of the once great Hebrew Empire came to an end. The captives, nearly 30,000 in number, were widely scattered, some being placed as far as Media. He carried them "away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" and their places were filled by men "from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim". Sargon's inscriptions are not quite like those of other Assyrian kings. Their monuments are generally mere details of bloodshed, but in one inscription he uses these words:—

"In accordance with the name I bear" (literally "the true shepherd") "and which the gods gave me that I might be the guardian of right and justice, govern the powerless, not harm the weak," etc.

In another inscription he is called "the inquiring king, the bearer of gracious words, who applied his mind to restore settlements fallen into decay, and cultivate the neighbouring lands . . . not to let oil that gives life to man and heals sores

become dear in my land, and regulate the price of sesame as well as of wheat ".

These inscriptions lead us to hope that Sargon had rather more humanity about him than the rest.

During the reign of Shalmaneser IV., short though it was, the empire had been a good deal shaken. In the south Elam was threatening, and Babylon had fallen away; in the east the Kurds were rebellious; in the west Carchemish, Hamath, Palestine and Philistia were encouraged by Egypt to revolt; and in the north Armenia was as unsettled as ever.

Sargon's first campaign was against the Elamites, whom he subdued. He then marched west, laid Hamath in ruins and, marching along the sea coast southward, met the combined Philistine and Egyptian forces at Raphia, defeated them and burned the city. Many captives, amongst whom was Hanun the king of Gaza, were carried to Assyria.

717. A year or two afterwards he attacked Carchemish, a city which was now a great trading centre, and very rich. Its king, Pisiris, had revolted, depending apparently upon help from the Moschian tribes of the north, but the city was stormed, king, officers and treasure were captured, and the inhabitants deported to Assyria. Other colonists were brought to repeople the city, and it was placed under an Assyrian governor. The capture of Carchemish led to a revolt of the northern tribes who had been in alliance and had traded with it. The districts inhabited by these tribes were wild and inaccessible, and it was six years before they were subdued. In the end Sargon proved too strong for them, and after several of their leaders had been slain they yielded and an Assyrian governor was
713. placed over the district. After this Sargon marched against the Medes, and forty-five chiefs submitted.

711. Palestine and the west were again in a ferment. Hezekiah, king of Judah, partly influenced by Merodach-baladan of Babylonia, and partly by promises of help from Egypt, rebelled and was joined by the Phœnicians and Philistines.

Sargon acted quickly, and Egypt as usual failing to carry out her promises, the rebellion was soon crushed. The city of Ashdod was besieged and captured on this expedition. The siege is spoken of by Isaiah, and it is the only mention of the name of Sargon in the Bible. So strange did this seem to critics that they did not hesitate to doubt his existence altogether, thinking Sargon might have been another name for Shalmaneser or Sennacherib. Josephus did not mention him, the Bible stood alone, and he almost dropped out of history. The patient interpreters of the cuneiform inscriptions, however, found that the Bible was right, and that Sargon not only existed but was one of the most important of Assyrian kings.

Sargon was now free to attend to Babylonia where 710.
Merodach-baladan enjoyed a precarious independence. The Babylonian hero expected the attack and persuaded the Elamites to join him, sending the king of Elam much treasure in order to buy his aid. But neither with Elam nor without could he stand against the conqueror. He dared not even defend the capital, but fell back upon Beth-yagina, his ancestral stronghold, and Sargon entered Babylon in triumph. Next year he followed Merodach-baladan to his refuge; took it by storm and carried its defender captive to Nineveh, after which the Babylonians submitted and the whole country fell under his sway.

Although Sargon's life had been so full of war, he left his mark as an architect upon Assyria. His greatest work was the building of Khorsabad, a city ten miles from Nineveh, large enough to accommodate 80,000 inhabitants. It was situated in a densely-planted park, and Sargon is careful to tell us that he paid for the land honestly, and where the owners did not wish to take money he gave them land for land. The city was compact in form, its walls a mile each way, with eight gates of sumptuous construction, fine temples, and a superb palace. Of the city only traces remain, but the palace is one of the best ruins in Assyria. It was

panelled in alabaster, adorned with sculpture and inscribed with the exploits of the monarch.

At last the common fate of Oriental sovereigns overtook Sargon: he was murdered in his city of Khorsabad, and Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER VI.

SENNACHERIB.

THE younger son of Sargon who now ascended the throne is 705.
in some respects the most interesting of Assyrian monarchs. Not indeed that his character was admirable, for he was a typical Oriental despot—proud, cruel, weak, and careless of the ruin which he spread. Nevertheless his reign has a special interest, because the Bible and the cuneiform inscriptions between them give us so many facts concerning it that he becomes one of the most life-like of Assyrian monarchs.

His first campaign was against Babylonia. Merodach- 703.
baladan had escaped, and having murdered Merodach-zakir-sumi, who had dared to take possession of Babylon, he once more seated himself upon the throne. His triumph was, however, short lived, for before he had reigned a year he was an exile, hiding among the marshes, and Sennacherib had returned to Nineveh with a crowd of captives and much spoil.

Sennacherib's next expedition was eastward, over the 702.
Zagros mountains and towards the Caspian Sea. The campaign was difficult and dangerous, but entirely successful, and we read that on his way back he "received a heavy tribute" from the Medes, "the name of whom," he incorrectly says, "had been heard of by none among the kings my fathers".

Next year he began the most famous of his expeditions. Palestine and Phœnicia were as usual extremely restless, and their disaffection was encouraged by Shabatok, king of Egypt, who promised help. Hezekiah was still king of Judah, and he, together with the kings of various surrounding principalities, threw off the Assyrian yoke. Sennacherib, beginning

with Sidon, soon subdued the cities of Phœnicia, and marched southward along the coast to Philistia. Various petty rulers submitted, and at last only Ekron, Lachish and Judah remained in rebellion. When Sennacherib attacked Ekron an Egyptian force came to its assistance, but the Egyptians were defeated at Eltekeh and Ekron was captured.

"I marched against the city of Ekron, and put to death the priests and the chief men who had rebelled, and I hung up their bodies on stakes all round the city."

Sennacherib now turned his attention to Judah, and marching through the land captured "forty-six of his strong cities, together with innumerable fortresses and small towns which depended on them, by overthrowing the walls and open attack by battle engines and battering-rams. I besieged, I captured, I brought out from the midst of them and counted as a spoil 200,150 persons, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number".

Hezekiah, now shut up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage" and thoroughly alarmed, endeavoured to make peace, sending to Nineveh tribute of great value, to obtain which he had to empty his own treasury and strip gold from the temple.

The account given of this campaign by Sennacherib ends with this triumph, but we know from the Scriptures and from Egyptian history that there was more to be told. Not satisfied with payment of tribute Sennacherib demanded the unconditional surrender of Jerusalem and, to make the demand more impressive, sent three important officers to Hezekiah, Tartan, Rabshakeh and Rabsaris. Hezekiah's officers came outside the city walls to meet the embassy, and asked them to speak in the Aramean language so that the citizens who were crowding the walls might not understand the conversation; but Rabshakeh, who was spokesman, refused, and cried aloud to the people in their own language:—

"Let not Hezekiah deceive you, for he shall not be able to deliver you out of my hand, neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying: The Lord will surely deliver us, and

this city shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. . . . Hath any of the gods of the nations ever delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? . . . Who are they among all the gods of the countries that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?"

Hezekiah in extremity laid the matter before the Lord, sending for Isaiah to advise him. Through Isaiah he received God's answer to the insults of the proud Assyrian:—

"The virgin, the daughter of Zion hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.

"Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel. . . .

"But I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against me.

"Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest. . . .

"For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake."

The campaign now took a new turn. Sennacherib was farther south than Jerusalem, and the Egyptian army, defeated and dispirited, was watching him from its frontier when a terrible disaster overwhelmed the Assyrians. It may have been a sudden attack of the plague, a disease to which Oriental armies, from their utter neglect of sanitation, are extremely subject, and before which they quickly succumb. At any rate, Sennacherib's expedition came to an abrupt conclusion, and he made a hasty retreat. Moreover, though he lived for twenty years after that, he never troubled Judah again, and a quarter of a century passed before Palestine saw another Assyrian army.

The next years of Sennacherib's life were devoted to war against Babylonia. Merodach-baladan, who had struggled so
700. bravely for national liberty, was now a worn-out man, but Nergal-yusezib stirred up a revolt and fought with pertinacity until he was overcome. Meanwhile Merodach-baladan's followers, who had been driven out of Babylonia, got land from the king of Elam and established a colony on the Persian Gulf. In modern times this would be looked upon as a most laudable proceeding, but Sennacherib had ships built and manned by Phœnicians with the aid of which he destroyed their settlements. At this time Nergal-yusezib made another attack upon Babylonia, aided by the Elamites, and succeeded in defeating the Assyrians at Nippur. Dying shortly afterwards he was succeeded by Musezib-Merodach, who held his own for several years. At length, Sennacherib made a great effort and overthrew the combined forces of Babylon and Elam
690. in the battle of Khalule. Elam was ravaged, "the smoke of burning towns obscuring the heavens". Then came the turn of Babylon, which was stormed, sacked, burnt, flooded, and so obliterated that further resistance seemed for ever impossible. This treatment of their mother city by the Assyrians was horrible, and it is matter for congratulation that Babylon thus apparently blotted out should have risen from its ashes and lived to see its brutal assailant perish.

Sennacherib's concluding years were spent in Nineveh, where he had resided for the most part. He built there the finest of Assyrian palaces, and was lavish in his expenditure on the city.

At last, "as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword, and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead."

CHAPTER VII.

ESARHADDON.

It is a relief to pass from the reign of Sennacherib to that of his younger son. The father was a typical despot, revelling in oppression, the son had many excellent traits of character and has been spoken of as "the noblest and most gracious figure" amongst Assyrian kings. Though far from perfect, yet he frequently appears to advantage in the course of his reign. First we see him as the avenger of his father's death. Bad though Sennacherib was, his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer, who killed him out of jealousy, because of his preference for Esarhaddon, were worse. At the time of the murder, Esarhaddon was in Northern Armenia with the army, and although it was winter he marched against the unnatural pair. A battle was fought in Cappadocia, and it seems as if the Assyrians in the opposing army went over to the side of Esarhaddon. At all events they ended by crying "This one is our king!" and the parricides fled to Armenia. 681.

Esarhaddon now hastened to Nineveh, and was received as undisputed sovereign. He proved an excellent king—having political wisdom as well as military genius. He found it necessary to proceed to Babylonia at once. Merodach-baladan was dead, but his son, taking advantage of Sennacherib's sudden death, had seized the throne and declared himself independent. He made no stand against Esarhaddon, who drove him to Elam, where he seems to have met with a violent end. Another son of Merodach-baladan threw himself upon the mercy of Esarhaddon, and was treated with kindness and made governor of a province. This was a politic act and

was followed by other gracious acts towards Babylon. Esarhaddon had never sympathised with the cruel treatment which had been meted out to that ancient city, and he tried to mend matters as far as he could. The city had lain in ruins for some years, but Esarhaddon rebuilt its walls and temples, gave the people back the property which had been taken as spoil, and restored their lands. He also made the southern capital his residence for part of the year, and did his utmost to conciliate the people. The policy of conciliation worked wonders, and there was no further rebellion in Babylon during his reign.

Esarhaddon's wise method with regard to Babylon was unfortunately not carried out by him elsewhere. Sidon
676. revolted and received hard measure, its king being beheaded and the city destroyed. A new city was built to which it was hoped that the trade of Sidon would pass, but it went to Tyre instead. After the destruction of Sidon there was a panic amongst the princes, and twenty-two of them submitted to Esarhaddon, amongst the rest Baal, king of Tyre, and Manasseh, king of Judah. Scarcely, however, had Esarhaddon retired, than these shifty kings revolted, foolishly trusting in the promises of Tirhakah, who had been king in Ethiopia, and having conquered Shabatok was now reigning over all Egypt. Manasseh was quickly captured and carried in fetters to Babylon, where the Assyrian court was then residing, but after a time he was forgiven and allowed to return to his kingdom. Having blockaded Tyre, Esarhaddon next determined to subdue Egypt, which for two centuries had
671. been the head and front of the offending. Accordingly the Assyrian army set out for the Nile, and, Tirhakah having been defeated, the whole country was soon subdued, and Esarhaddon became master of Egypt. Determined to keep what he had acquired he reorganised the government. It was divided into twenty provinces, and over each of these was placed a governor, sometimes a native, sometimes an Assyrian. Esarhaddon also left garrisons in cities of strategic

importance and then, having settled the tribute and ordered certain cities to be rebuilt, he returned to Assyria.

Previous to the conquest of Egypt Esarhaddon had made a most daring expedition into Arabia, his object perhaps being to strike terror into the hearts of the Bedouin, who were a great trouble to the traders on the caravan routes. He seems to have travelled hundreds of miles through the sandy and waterless desert without mishap, and to have reached the lands of Huz and Buz. An interesting incident occurred in connection with this campaign. A chief, named Lailie, fled at his approach, whereupon his goods, including his gods, were confiscated and carried to Nineveh. Lailie followed Esarhaddon to the capital, and besought him to return his household deities, and Esarhaddon did so. The incident shows that Esarhaddon must have had a reputation for generosity, else the Arabian would scarcely have dared thus to thrust his head into the lion's mouth.

Only one other campaign need be mentioned—that against the Cimmerian tribes, who began during his reign to trickle southward over the Caucasus. Esarhaddon went against these, and in a battle fought in Cappadocia defeated them, slaying Teispes their leader. The immediate result of this battle was to divert the stream of emigrants westward for a time, but a few years later the stream became a torrent which all the strength of Assyria could not stem.

Towards the end of his reign Esarhaddon associated his son Assur-bani-pal with him in the government, and not long after, when on his way back to Egypt, he died. He had shown himself an able ruler, having added Egypt and a considerable section of Arabia to the empire, and having by his conciliatory methods kept Babylonia at peace. He carried on the transplanting policy, especially in Palestine, where he still further increased the foreign element. He was by no means perfect, and his treatment of Sidon was cruel, but he had kingly qualities, was often merciful, and may fairly be considered the best of the Assyrian kings.

CHAPTER VIII.

ASSUR-BANI-PAL.

668. ASSUR-BANI-PAL, who now succeeded his father, had few or none of his estimable qualities. Esarhaddon was superior to the ordinary Assyrian monarch, but in Assur-bani-pal there was a reversion to the type. His father had associated him with himself in the government after returning from Egypt. Scarcely had he returned when he learned that Tirhakah was again at large, had descended the Nile, captured Memphis, and once more ruled as king. It was necessary, therefore, that Egypt should be reconquered, and Esarhaddon was proceeding to do this when he died. The task fell upon his son, and Tirhakah was again defeated, the viceroys restored, and the garrisons strengthened. No sooner, however, had the Assyrians left the country than the work was again undone. The Egyptians did not love Tirhakah, but they loved the Assyrians less, and the very governors whom Assur-bani-pal appointed conspired against him. Some of the conspirators were captured and sent in chains to Nineveh, amongst them being Necho, a man of unusual ability. Assur-bani-pal tried a new plan. Recognising Necho's worth he sent him back as chief of the petty princes, and gave his son Psamatik a province. It was now Necho's interest to remain loyal and keep the others to their allegiance, and the plan might have succeeded had Tirhakah lived. But he died, and was succeeded by an energetic and popular son who speedily gained adherents, captured Memphis, slew Necho and again overthrew the Assyrian power.

There was nothing for it but a new expedition, and Assur-bani-pal led it in person. Once more the Egyptian king was chased up the Nile, and took refuge in Ethiopia, the Assyrians following him as far as Thebes. This ancient capital had been responsible for much of the trouble, having been generally the first to espouse the cause of the Ethiopian kings, and Assur-bani-pal now poured upon it the vials of his wrath, 661.
destroying monuments, temples and palaces of priceless value, and sweeping the city like a flood. The prophet Nahum in graphic words afterwards reminded Nineveh of the destruction which she herself had brought upon this great city, the city of No-Amon.

"Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, her wall from the sea.

"Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."

Esarhaddon had besieged Tyre before his death and the siege had lingered, but Assur-bani-pal redoubled his efforts and it surrendered. It was the greatest commercial city in the world, and the double conquest of Egypt and of Tyre created so profound an impression that smaller kingdoms submitted to Esarhaddon without further question. Amongst those who sent tribute was Gyges, king of Lydia, a country of which the Assyrians had apparently not even heard.

The conquest of Egypt proved to be but temporary. Psamatik, the son of Necho, who had been made governor of a province, was, since his father's death, the most important of the petty princes. He determined to weld Egypt again into one state, and made alliance with Gyges of Lydia from whom he hired Greek mercenaries. With the help of these he subdued the other princes, and when he found himself sufficiently powerful to run the risk, he threw off the Assyrian yoke. Assur-bani-pal, already surrounded with trouble, was

unable to send another expedition, and Egypt passed finally out of the hands of the Assyrian.

About the same time wars were in progress in Arabia, Elam and Babylonia. Arabia was most easily dealt with, for the tribes were so scattered that they could make little stand, so the chief men were slain, the cattle driven away, the corn cut down, and the people left to starve.

Elam fought fiercely, and when one king Ur-taki was beaten and committed suicide, his brother took up the fighting, but was routed and slain at Shushan. Still the Elamites fought, until Assur-bani-pal invaded the country with overwhelming forces, and carried death and destruction throughout the land. City after city he destroyed until he came to Shushan. The ancient capital was sacked, the buildings thrown into a heap, and the heap burnt.

Meanwhile there was a serious revolution in Babylonia where the king's brother Samas-sum-yukin, who was viceroy,
647. rebelled. The rebellion was not crushed without great difficulty, but, at last, the city having been reduced by famine, Samas-sum-yukin set fire to the palace, and perished in its ruins.

Thus Assyria was partially triumphant, but the victory had been gained at a heavy cost. Egypt was finally lost, for the Assyrians were not strong enough to fight that battle over again, Elam was crushed, but Babylonia, though for the moment silenced, was as rebellious at heart as ever. Another viceroy was appointed, named Kandalanu, and he ruled for twenty-two years, nominally under Assyria, but really as an independent sovereign.

There is little record of the last years of Assur-bani-pal, and there was probably nothing pleasant to write about. He built on a large scale, and his work was not inferior to that of his predecessors. The north palace at Nineveh, built by him, was one of the finest of Assyrian buildings. His most meritorious work was the institution of the Royal Library. Tiglath-pileser III. had begun collecting tablets, Sargon, Senna-

cherib, and Esarhaddon had added to the collection, but Assur-bani-pal gathered them in great numbers and upon every conceivable subject. The library was in the palace and may have contained 30,000 tablets. Eventually palace and library were overtaken by one common ruin, but it has been the good fortune of the explorers of the nineteenth century to dig up many of these treasures and to decipher tablets written twenty-five centuries ago. In the reign of Assur-bani-pal Assyrian art reached a high level of excellence, and some of the productions of this period are still used as models of classical art.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FALL OF ASSUR.

ASSUR-BANI-PAL had made prodigious efforts to maintain the integrity of the empire, and had not lost any important province besides Egypt, but in the effort Assyria had overtaxed her strength. It is probable that the decline of the empire began during his reign, for the records cease and the further history is obscure.

The Assyrians had indeed only enemies on every side. In Egypt Psamatik maintained his independence and even threatened Syria, capturing Gaza and laying siege to Ashdod. On the east the Medes were centralising and becoming formidable, and in the south the Babylonians were as rebellious as ever.

Possibly taking advantage of a revolution at Babylon, Phraortes, king of the Medes, attacked Assyria, but was defeated and slain.

Phraortes left a son Cyaxares, more warlike than himself. Perceiving that the Medes lacked discipline, he went to great pains to organise the army, after which he drove the Assyrians out of Media and even invaded Assyria itself. His enterprise was, however, brought to an abrupt conclusion by difficulties in his own country which called imperatively for his return.

For many years unrest had been increasing amongst the nomadic tribes who lived north of the Caucasus. The Scythians who lived farthest north had pushed the Cimmerians out of their homes, and these in their turn invaded Asia Minor. Being met by Esarhaddon and defeated, they turned west towards Lydia, where, after varied fortune, they

slew King Gyges in battle. The Cimmerians had been bad enough, but now the Scythians followed in such numbers that it was no longer possible to turn the invaders aside. Bands of them reached Media, and it was the knowledge of this that made it necessary for Cyaxares to return. For the moment, therefore, the Scythian invasion gave Assyria a breathing space, but it was only for the moment. Cyaxares was overcome and had to submit for a time, but the mountains of Media were not so captivating as the rich plains of Syria and the Scythians spread southward until he was able to throw their yoke off his neck. Assyria was not so fortunate. She lay in the high road from the north and suffered more than any other country. The country itself was plundered and ravaged on every side, but this was not all, for it was impossible for her to exercise any jurisdiction over her outlying provinces. It was all she could do to guard her own head, and her provinces fell from her with one accord.

Assur-etil-ilani succeeded Assur-bani-pal, and was in his turn succeeded by Sin-sarra-iskun or Saracos. Tablets have just been found dated in the accession year of Sin-sum-lisir who seems to have intervened between Assur-etil-ilani and Sin-sarra-iskun. But he may have been a rebel king.

The troubles of Assyria gave her enemies their chance. Media had shaken off the Scythians, Babylonia had scarcely felt them. They travelled to the borders of Egypt but were bribed by Psamatik and turned back. A golden opportunity presented itself to these powers, and they were not slow to take advantage of it.

Accordingly an alliance was entered into between Nabopolassar, king of Babylonia, and Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and cemented by marriage between the daughter of Cyaxares and Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabopolassar. In Egypt Psamatik had been succeeded by his son Pharaoh Necho, who also determined to seize the occasion, so that Assyria was attacked on three sides.

The Egyptian army was the first in motion. Necho's

course lay through Judah where Josiah opposed him, but was defeated and slain. After this Necho soon reached Carchemish and captured it, thus gaining command of Assyria's western empire. Meanwhile the Medes and Babylonians invaded Assyria itself and ravaged the land. They were defeated once or twice, but fresh contingents kept arriving and at last the king was shut up in Nineveh. Apparently he made a great effort to save his kingdom, for the siege is said to have lasted for two years. The fortifications seemed impregnable, but a flood broke down a portion of the wall after which the besiegers quickly entered and Nineveh was
606. destroyed.

The empire was divided between the victors, Necho taking the west, Cyaxares the north, Nabopolassar the south. For some reason, however, Nabopolassar and Necho quarrelled immediately, and the former sent his son Nebuchadrezzar to Carchemish, where he defeated the Egyptians, driving them out of Syria, so that Necho gained nothing by his effort.

The terrible reckoning of the nations against Assyria had now been settled in full. Other cities have been destroyed and rebuilt, but Nineveh fell to rise no more. Henceforth the Assyrian Empire was merged in the Babylonian from which it had originally sprung, and the great city became a desolation—a place for wild beasts to lie down in.

MEDES AND PERSIANS.

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE MEDES.

Deioces.
Phraortes.
Cyaxares.
Astyages (King of the Manda).

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

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MEDES AND PERSIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE MEDES.

The tract lying between the Indian Ocean and the Caspian Sea, called by its inhabitants Iran, and by us Persia, was, from early times, peopled by hardy, highland tribes, most of whom had migrated southward from Turkestan, and who now dwelt, sometimes alone, sometimes mingled with the earlier inhabitants. Of these tribes the more southern were the Persians, whose princes were said to be descended from a king Achæmenes; the more northern were the Medes, who lived in separate tribes, not recognising any central authority. Both Medes and Persians had been originally followers of Zoroaster, who taught a dual religion, namely, that in the world two spirits, Ormuzd and Ahriman, the spirit of good and the spirit of evil, contended for the mastery. Ormuzd, the spirit of goodness and light, was worshipped on mountain tops, where fires burned unceasingly in his honour. The Persians had kept themselves comparatively pure in race and religion, but the Medes had mixed with the earlier inhabitants, and their religion had degenerated into a kind of devil worship, carried on by their priests, the Magi, with exorcisms and enchantments.

South-west of the territory occupied by the Medes lay Elam, a country peopled by men of a different race, who had formed themselves into a kingdom from a very early period, and had made their power felt in Babylonia, Syria and perhaps even Egypt. Latterly they had been kept under

by Assyria, but had fought fiercely for their independence. Their capital was Susa or Shushan, which had been destroyed by Assur-bani-pal, the last great Assyrian king, but was rebuilt after his death. Those three peoples, the Elamites, Medes and Persians, eventually united to form the ruling race known as the Medes and Persians, under whose kings the mighty Persian Empire was gathered together which was eventually conquered by Alexander the Great, and after his death divided amongst his generals.

834. Our first historical contact with the Medes, so far as profane history is concerned, occurs in the reign of Shalmaneser II. who, in the ninth century before our era, ruled in Assyria and made campaigns to the east, in the course of which he destroyed many of their cities.

During the reign of Samsi-Rimmon II., and the succeeding reign of Rimmon-nirari III., there were several expeditions against the Medes, who became tributary to Assyria.

713. Forty-five Median chiefs submitted to Sargon, and his power in their country is shown by the fact that he carried many captives from Samaria to the cities of the Medes.

Sennacherib boasts that he had ambassadors from the remoter parts of Media, and Esarhaddon and other Assyrian kings invaded Median territory, receiving tribute. At last the Medes saw that if they were to make any stand against their enemies they must centralise, and they banded themselves under a chief whose name legend declares to have been Deioces.

During the reign of Assur-bani-pal the Assyrians were too busy to pay attention to the Medes, who increased in strength the more freely as Assur-bani-pal crushed Elam, which otherwise might have kept them in check. Deioces was succeeded by Phraortes, who extended the borders of the

640. kingdom and conquered the Persians. He next attacked Assur-bani-pal but in this overestimated his strength, for he was defeated and slain with the greater part of his army.

Phraortes was succeeded by Cyaxares, a man of great ability, who united the tribes more thoroughly, and gathered together so formidable an army that he thrust the Assyrians out of Media, invaded Assyria itself, and would have besieged Nineveh but that difficulties at home demanded his return.

For some years the tribes dwelling north of the Caucasus had been in a condition of unrest. The Scythians had driven the Cimmerians south, and following them into Asia Minor, were overspreading the territory ruled by Cyaxares. He accordingly hastened back, but was defeated and for some time had to submit to the nomads. For the moment Assyria was relieved, but shortly after she also was overrun and ravaged without mercy. Cyaxares, whose territories were not so alluring as those of Assyria, regained his power and found himself in a few years again able to give battle to Assyria, now greatly weakened. Nabopolassar whom Assur-bani-pal had made viceroy was now king in Babylonia. He entered into alliance with Cyaxares, and planned a joint attack upon the common enemy. At the same time Assyria was also attacked by Pharaoh Necho who thought he saw a chance of regaining Egypt's Asiatic empire.

The Assyrians made what resistance they could. Pharaoh Necho somewhat easily gained the western portion of the empire by the battle of Enegiddo, but Cyaxares and Nabopolassar had to fight hard before the Assyrian king was at last shut up in his capital. Even then the siege of Nineveh lasted two years, and the city at length fell owing to a flood having 606.
made a breach in the walls.

Assyria was now divided into three parts, Necho retaining the west, Cyaxares taking the northern and eastern provinces, Nabopolassar the south. But shortly afterwards Nebuchadrezzar, the son of the Babylonian king, attacked Necho at Carchemish, drove him back to Egypt and robbed him of his share of the spoil.

Cyaxares might well have been satisfied with his extra-

ordinary success, but he made further conquests until his empire extended from Bactria in the east to the river Halys in the west. His western frontier was thus conterminous with the ancient kingdom of Lydia, then under the rule of Alyattes, and on that fertile land Cyaxares cast longing eyes. A war ensued in which Cyaxares was helped by Nebuchadrezzar, but Lydia, though a small country, had great resources and the contest was prolonged. At length, after about six years, when every one was tired of the war, an eclipse of the sun took place during a battle. This was accepted as a sign that the gods desired peace, and peace was made accordingly.

CHAPTER II.

CYRUS THE GREAT.

During the half century following the fall of Nineveh and the conquests of Cyaxares, the land of Elam, which had been cruelly ravaged by Assyria, recovered its strength. Cyrus was now its ruler, a prince of the Achæmenian line so highly esteemed in Persia, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Astyages, king of the Manda of Ecbatana. The Manda were Scythians and had conquered the Medes, whose territory lay north-east of Ecbatana, extending to the Caspian. Subsequent generations confounded Medes and Manda together, but in any case they merged under Cyrus. The branch of the royal family of Persia from which he descended migrated into Elam some generations before his birth, and he is represented as "son of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, son of Teispes, son of Achæmenes, of the ancient seed royal". An inscription informs us that the barbarians under Astyages captured Harran and destroyed the temple, whereupon Nabonidos, king of Babylon, dreamt that the deity instructed him to repair it. On his representing to Merodach that the forces of the barbarians were greater than he could encounter, he was assured that a power would be raised up to destroy them, and this power proved to be Cyrus.

The inscription is somewhat fanciful, but agrees with the simple facts of the case, which were that Astyages and Nabonidos were at war, when Cyrus attacked the former in the rear. 549
Astyages was defeated, whereupon his army revolted, and delivered him bound into the hands of Cyrus. During the next

three years Cyrus must have acquired Persia also, because whilst in the earlier part of his annals he is called "king of Anzan" or Elam, in a later he is styled "king of Persia". This acquisition was doubtless more easily made because Cyrus was of the Persian blood royal. The Medes also fell at once under his sway, so that he was now a powerful monarch, Elamites, Persians, Manda and Medes obeying his command. As regards the outer world these changes made no difference: indeed the Greeks continued to speak of "the Medes" as if there had been no change at all.

Cyrus had now a greater territory than that over which Cyaxares had ruled, and being still young he seemed likely to add to his empire. His success alarmed the neighbouring powers, and Lydia, Babylon and Egypt entered into alliance against him. Crœsus, king of Lydia, was the first to act. Buoyed up by an apparently favourable but really equivocal
546. oracle from Delphi, he invaded Cappadocia, then under Persian suzerainty. Before help could come from either Babylon or Egypt, Cyrus was upon him. The first battle was indecisive, and as the Persians retreated a few miles Crœsus thought the campaign over and also retired, intending to defer further operations until the following spring. But when he had dismissed his allies and returned home, Cyrus pursued him to his capital, and so pressed him that within a fortnight Sardis was captured and Crœsus was a prisoner. He never recovered his kingdom, which was now merged in the Persian, but he was kindly treated by Cyrus, and became his firm friend, living at court with him and his successor.

The fall of Crœsus created a profound impression, and Lydia at once submitted. The Asiatic Greeks in the coast towns, however, thinking they might perhaps regain the autonomy of which Crœsus had deprived them, refused to yield—Miletus being the only city that paid homage. Cyrus left Mazares with an army to finish the conquest, and when the latter died, Harpagus succeeded him and had little

difficulty in subduing the cities. When once they submitted, the terms imposed were not burdensome, self-government was not interfered with, they had but to pay tribute and supply armed contingents when required. The conquest of these cities was of great importance to the Persians, for it gave them access to the Mediterranean and the command of a fleet when required.

Whilst Harpagus was busy in the west, Cyrus was in the east, pushing his conquests as far as the frontier of India. When he had consolidated his power in this direction, and obtained undisputed command over an almost inexhaustible supply of the best soldiers in Asia, he turned southward to attack Babylonia.

Nabonidos, the king of Babylon, expected to be attacked and had made every preparation for resistance. In his efforts he was aided by "the Queen Mother," evidently a woman of determination and ability, and by his son Belshazzar who was associated with him in the kingdom. A fortified camp was established at Sippara, and so well was Northern Babylonia protected, that Cyrus failed to break through the defences for several years. It happened that throughout Babylonia, and especially in the capital itself, there were many disaffected, particularly amongst the exiles, so Cyrus prepared his way for further effort by intrigue. In the seventeenth year of Nabonidos he made another advance, approaching Babylonia from the south-east. This time he was successful, defeating 538.
Nabonidos in a pitched battle, after which Sippara, the second city in the kingdom, fell by treachery. Immediately after Babylon opened its gates to Gobryas, the general of Cyrus, and was taken so peaceably that business was not even suspended during the transference of government. Cyrus had doubtless many friends in the city, and was welcomed as a deliverer. These events happened in June, and Cyrus did not himself enter Babylon until October. A few days after he entered, Nabonidos, who had been lying in prison, died. Belshazzar was dead some months before, having

been either assassinated or killed in the battle fought near Sippara.

The authority of Cyrus was now recognised throughout Babylonia, and he hastened to ingratiate himself with the people. Aware from experience how dangerous it was to have a disaffected people living in the heart of the empire, one of his first acts was to permit as many Babylonian exiles as chose to return to their native lands. Amongst those who took advantage of his permission were the Jews, of whom a large number returned to Palestine under the leadership of Zerubbabel. Cyrus' kindness to the Jews was not prompted by religious affinity, for, contrary to what was at one time supposed, it is now known that he was a worshipper of the gods of Babylon; so that it must have been purely an act of policy. Not only was he glad to win the gratitude of those who as exiles could not fail to be disaffected, but he saw that if Jerusalem were rebuilt and in the hands of a friendly people, it would be a splendid bulwark against Egypt, and a base for his operations should he invade that country.

Not much is known about the remaining years of Cyrus' life. He did not attack Egypt as might have been expected, but instead added greatly to the empire, eastward as far as
529. the Indus, and northward to the Jaxartes. He fell at last when attacking a tribe dwelling north of the sea of Aral, in what is now Southern Siberia. When he died, his empire was greater in extent than either the Assyrian or Babylonian had been; for, though he had not subdued Egypt, he had conquered Lydia, and districts both north and east which his predecessors had not interfered with. His soldiers recovered his body and brought it back to Pasargada, where his tomb is still to be seen.

Cyrus was a splendid military chief, and able to endear himself to his followers, but he did not possess much administrative talent. Probably the empire came upon him as a surprise, following as it did his easy victory over Astyages,

his suzerain. That victory opened the door by which he passed from being king over an obscure country to be head of a vast empire—the greatest of reigning sovereigns. Though a conqueror he lacked the statesmanlike talent which organises and binds. Nevertheless he had many excellent qualities, and his memory is held in high veneration by the Persians to this day.

CHAPTER III.

CAMBYSES.

529. Cyrus at his death left two sons, Cambyses and Bardes, and had desired that, whilst Cambyses succeeded him, Bardes should receive a portion of the vast inheritance, but Cambyses had his brother secretly assassinated.

Having thus secured his position, Cambyses determined to carry out the conquest of Egypt, which had doubtless been in his father's mind before he died, and spent four years preparing for the invasion. Cambyses saw that his attack would be more likely to succeed if he were supported by a fleet, and he obtained vessels from the coast ports of Asia, as well as from Phœnicia and Cyprus both of which had submitted to him without conquest.

526. While the Persian army was on its march, Amasis the reigning king of Egypt died and Psamatik II. succeeded him. Cambyses fought against him at Pelusium, and although the Egyptians were aided by Greek mercenaries they were completely overthrown, and Psamatik made no further effort. The adjacent colonies of Cyrene and Barca and the Libyan tribes on the frontier also submitted to Cambyses, so that his conquest of Egypt was complete.

Cambyses remained some years in Egypt, and organised it as a Persian province. He had been fortunate so far, and had he been content with his good fortune he might have enjoyed it for many years. Unfortunately the lust of conquest had seized him, and he determined to conquer Africa. He planned three expeditions, against Carthage, against the oasis of Amon, and against Ethiopia. He was unable to carry out the first

because the Phœnicians, who manned the best part of his fleet, refused to attack their own kith and kin. He sent a great army from Thebes against Amon, but, unaccustomed to desert warfare and desert life, his troops perished to a man. He then led in person an army southward against Ethiopia, but, falling short of supplies, had to return in order to avoid disaster.

The result of these reverses was far reaching. The Persians lost confidence in their king, whilst he became soured and savage in temper and made enemies for himself. Many tales have come down to us of his intolerance towards Egyptian worship. Herodotus says that he openly scoffed at the gods of Egypt, destroyed their images and slew Apis their sacred bull. As it was thought that Cambyses was a monotheist, and presumably averse to the worship of idols, these stories were formerly accepted as true, but the inscriptions now discovered prove him to have been an idolater, and unlikely to have acted as has been described. Egyptian monuments confirm this, representing him as a benefactor to their priests and religion. Moreover the very bull which he is reported to have mortally wounded was buried in a sarcophagus of which the inscription has been found, and this inscription states that the bull was buried in peace and with the usual royal honours, while a sculpture represents Cambyses before him in an attitude of worship. These stories against his memory must therefore be treated as fictions, and it would seem rather that the Egyptians became attached to his rule, for Egypt was almost the only part of the empire that did not revolt at his death.

Cambyses, however, had acted unwisely in several ways, and disaster overtook him at last. The greater part of his reign having been spent in Egypt, there was discontent in the capital. The failure of the campaigns against Amon and Ethiopia lowered his prestige, whilst the secrecy with which his brother had been assassinated put a powerful weapon into the hands of his enemies. Accordingly

a Magian priest, named Gomates, who chanced to resemble the murdered prince, came forward to personate him, and a general rising took place in his favour. As soon as Cambyses heard of the revolt he appointed a satrap over Egypt and started for the capital, but on his way home he heard how widely the revolt had spread, and, apparently losing hope, committed suicide.

521. Smerdis or Gomates, the pretender, who now ruled, endeavoured to make himself popular by remitting the taxes paid by the provinces, and proclaiming freedom from military service. His usurpation was unfortunate for the Jews, as he reversed the decree of Cyrus which authorised the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, so that the Samaritans were able to make "them to cease by force and power". When he had reigned about seven months, and it had become evident that he was an impostor, a conspiracy was formed amongst the leading Persians, six of whom, led by Darius, son of Hystaspes, a descendant of the royal house of Persia, attacked him in the fort of Sikhyuvatis in Media and slew him, after which Darius ascended the throne.

PERSIAN EMPIRE
IN REIGN OF
DARIUS THE GREAT.

CHAPTER IV.

DARIUS THE GREAT.

THE history of the Persian Empire, which has been generally considered to begin with Cyrus, may more properly be held to begin with Darius. Cyrus was certainly of Persian extraction, but at the time when he founded his empire he was prince of Elam, and he merely added Media and Persia to his dominions. He was neither by birth nor religion a true Persian, for both he and Cambyses worshipped the Babylonian gods. Darius, on the other hand, was both by birth and religion a Persian, descended like Cyrus from the royal Achæmenian house of Persia, and a follower of the Zoroastrian faith. The ancestors of Darius had remained in Persia, whilst the branch of the family of which Cyrus was a member had settled in Elam. In the Behistun inscription, believed to have been executed about the fifth year of his reign, Darius says: "Eight kings of my race have held the kingdom before me, I am the ninth who hold the kingdom, in two lines we have been kings". 521.

The accession of Darius was not popular. He was not the heir of Cambyses; the various provinces were disinclined to place themselves under Persian domination; and neither the followers of Magism, nor the worshippers of idols were cordial towards the Zoroastrian faith. Hence one province after another revolted, no fewer than eight pretenders arose, and it seemed as if the empire must dissolve in anarchy. But Darius proved to be a man of genius and resistless energy; and although the reconquest of the empire took him five years, it was achieved at last.

Naturally enough Elam was the first state to rebel. Cyrus and Cambyses had been Elamites, and their state held the lead and refused to take the second place. No sooner was the revolt in Elam put down than another arose in Babylon, led by one who claimed to be of the line of Nebuchadrezzar. Aided by the magic of his name this leader held Babylon for nearly two years, at the end of which time the city was captured and the leader, whether pretender or otherwise, slain. Meanwhile other rebellions broke out in Media, Parthia, Armenia, and elsewhere, only Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor remaining faithful. It needed a man of extraordinary determination to quench the flame, but Darius did this, and at length his authority was established throughout the empire.

520. In the second year of Darius, the Jews, whose work had been rudely stopped in the preceding reign, recommenced the restoration of the temple. The work had not proceeded far when Tatnai, the satrap of Syria, interfered, whereupon the Jews did not cease building, but informed him that Cyrus had issued a decree authorising them. Tatnai sent to Darius to ask if this were so, and search was made in the library at Babylon, but no such decree was found. The search was however extended to Ecbatana, and there a papyrus roll was found with a copy of the decree, after finding which Darius ordered Tatnai not to interfere with the work but rather to facilitate it, so that in the sixth year of his reign the temple was finished and dedicated.

Having conquered his enemies, Darius next reformed the method of governing. Under his predecessors the government of the subject states had been very unsystematic; in fact so long as they sent tribute and did not openly revolt, nothing more was required. Darius perceived that in order to hold the empire together, the administration must be conducted on different lines. Accordingly he divided the empire into satrapies, over each of which a satrap or governor was placed who had charge of its affairs and was responsible for the tribute, which was fixed according

to the wealth of the satrapy. The satraps were almost in the position of kings; but, lest they might aim at independence, their power was checked by other officers who were directly responsible to the crown. Of these the most important were the military commander, who had control of the forces in the satrapy, and the royal secretary, who reported to the king all that took place in it. The number of the satrapies has not been ascertained with precision; twenty-three are mentioned on the inscription of Darius at Behistun, and twenty-nine on his tomb. The satraps subdivided their satrapies into districts, and appointed deputies, each of whom was responsible for his own share of the tribute. Thus though there were only twenty or thirty satrapies in all, 127 provinces are mentioned in the book of Esther.

From the point of view of the crown the new organisation worked well, the empire flourished and the revenue increased. The contributions from the satrapies varied greatly, some paid between £40,000 and £50,000, Syria paid £100,000, Babylonia nearly £300,000, and India about £1,000,000 per annum. Nor was this the whole of the revenue, for there were many crown monopolies, fishing rights, salt rights, mining rights and so on. Even the water used for irrigation had often to be paid for by the cultivator. Besides, when the king's claims were satisfied, there were other claims to be considered. The satrap got no salary, yet he lived like a king, and after him came many subordinate officials not a whit less exacting. When all was paid, the toiler, from whose labour came all that was truly wealth in the empire, had just enough left to keep body and soul together, the limit beyond which no government however despotic can pass.

Darius, however, was far from being a mere extortioner. He had the good of the empire at heart, and gave the people many advantages in exchange for the tribute. Efficient postal communication was established between the chief towns, post-houses with relays of horses and swift riders being placed at regular intervals. Each post-house was a caravanserai or public

inn, and guards patrolled to see that bridges and ferries were kept in proper order. Good roads were also constructed from point to point, so that trade passed freely and with unusual safety throughout the empire during his reign.

Darius, although a Persian, wisely retained Susa as the capital city. It had an excellent climate, and was more central than Persepolis the Persian capital. He erected, however, various important buildings at Persepolis, the ruins of which are impressive even to this day. He was the first Persian king who coined money on a large scale. His gold darics were worth a little over a sovereign, his silver darics about a florin or half a dollar.

After the empire had been thus organised by Darius he sighed for fresh conquests. On his eastern frontier lay India, and against it he made an important expedition. We do not know how far he penetrated, but he subdued the Punjaub, and thoroughly explored the Indus, his fleet passing down the river and then coasting Persia and Arabia as far as Suez. This was an adventurous voyage, and was imitated by Alexander the Great afterwards, though his fleet did not go so far.

After his eastern expedition Darius undertook one to Europe which proved less satisfactory. The object of this enterprise, which was against the Scythians, has never been very clear, but probably the king thought it would add to the safety of his dominions if he annexed a portion of Europe. Relations between the Asiatic Greeks and their Oriental masters had never run smoothly. When Cyrus attacked Crœsus he got no help from the Asiatic Greeks, and even when he conquered Lydia they refused to submit until he had punished them severely, subduing their cities, and in some cases selling the inhabitants into slavery. Since that time there had been chronic unrest amongst the Greeks, and Darius knew that their rebellious tendencies were supported by the sympathy of their countrymen on the other side of the Ægean. The conquest of Greece may therefore have seemed to Darius the one thing necessary to round off his empire, and he may have

thought it desirable to begin by striking terror into the Scythians. It was fortunate for Greece that he began his expedition in this somewhat circuitous way, for at that time Athens was under the despotism of the Peisistratidæ and had not developed the qualities which came with freedom and enabled her twenty years later to defy the invader at the battle of Marathon. Had Darius struck directly at Greece at that time he would have been resisted by the Spartans in the south, but the rest of Greece would probably have succumbed. He determined, however, first to give the Scythians a lesson, and in order to carry this apparently harmless purpose into effect the help of the Asiatic Greeks was freely accorded. In the construction of the bridges over the Bosphorus and Danube, and in preparing and manning the fleet, the Asiatic Greeks did excellent service, nor would his scheme have been feasible without their aid.

When an army of great size had been gathered, and all was 512.
ready for his expedition, Darius crossed the Bosphorus, marched through Thrace, and then, crossing the Danube by a bridge of boats, plunged into Scythia, leaving the Asiatic Greeks in charge of the bridge. The Scythians avoided a pitched battle, and retreated before him, driving their flocks and herds into the wilderness, and destroying the forage, so that the Persians found their difficulties increasing at every step. At last when two months had gone by, and the army had done the Scythians no harm, and was itself in a position of extreme danger, Darius turned, and, abandoning his wounded, retreated towards the Danube. A band of Scythians reached the bridge first, and besought the Greeks to destroy it, guaranteeing that if they did so not a man of the great army should escape. The long-headed amongst the Greeks, who guessed what Darius had in contemplation, were in favour of this course. Amongst these was Miltiades, the ruler of the Thracian Chersonese, and afterwards the hero of Marathon. Had his counsel prevailed the attack upon Greece would have been nipped in the bud, the Persian empire would probably have broken up, there

would have been no Marathon and no Thermopylæ. But others, especially Histiæus, the ruler of Miletus, opposed Miltiades, and Darius was permitted to recross the Danube in safety. He returned to Asia with the bulk of his army, but left Megabazus with 80,000 men in Thrace to complete its conquest and do whatever else seemed advisable in the imperial interest. Megabazus was more successful than could have been expected, for he not only subdued Thrace, and captured several Greek cities in that quarter, but also obtained the submission of Amyntas, the king of Macedonia. Thus by great good fortune Darius escaped disaster and achieved his object, for Persian suzerainty was acknowledged as far as the borders of Thessaly, and now only the apparently-insignificant province of Greece lay between him and universal empire. Nevertheless Darius had no very pleasant recollections of his Scythian expedition, and might have left Greece alone, had the Greeks left him alone.

The Asiatic Greeks, who were under the double yoke of domestic despots and Persian rule, were extremely restless after the Scythian expedition, realising that it could not have been undertaken without their help, and must have ended in disaster but for their forbearance, so that very little was needed to induce the cities to rebel. At last the signal came from Miletus. Histiæus, who had been despot there, and whose influence had saved Darius, had been removed to Susa, his place being filled by Aristagoras his son-in-law. Aristagoras, anxious to distinguish himself, persuaded the Persians to attack Naxos, where civil war was raging, thinking to find it an easy prey, but through a quarrel between himself and the Persian admiral the attack failed, whereupon, angry, discredited, and tempted by a message from Histiæus, he revolted. The revolt of Miletus was quickly followed by the other cities of the Asiatic Greeks, nearly every town declaring war upon Persia. Aristagoras crossed to Europe to seek aid from the Greeks there. Sparta refused, but the Athenians sent twenty ships, to which the Eretrians added five.

The tiny squadron crossed to Ephesus and landed its troops, and, when these were joined by levies from the adjacent towns, a sudden attack was made upon Sardis, the capital of Asia Minor, and in the surprise of the first assault the satrap was driven into the citadel, and the town sacked and burnt. This was a grave mistake, as the town was Lydian, and the Lydians suffered more than the Persians by its destruction. Enraged at their losses and especially at the destruction of their famous temple, the Lydians united with the Persians and chased the invaders, who were comparatively few in number, back to their ships with considerable loss; 499. whereupon the Athenian and Eretrian contingents, disgusted with the mismanagement of the affair, sailed home, leaving the Asiatic Greeks to pay the penalty of their rashness. The news that Sardis had been burnt spread quickly and increased the area of the revolt, and, when Darius heard of it, it exasperated him to such an extent that he determined to take vengeance not only on the Asiatic Greeks but also upon Athens and Eretria. The Asiatic revolt was crushed without mercy, yet so widely had it spread that five years elapsed before the war was quite ended. At last all the cities had either submitted or been captured, most of them had been sacked, and Miletus had been burnt, so that the resistance collapsed and Darius was in a position to deal with Athens and Eretria, whose share in the destruction of Sardis he had neither forgotten nor forgiven. An expedition was accordingly prepared for the punishment of the European Greeks, and 492. Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius, received command and invaded Europe by way of Thrace and Macedonia, whilst a powerful fleet coasted in his support. At first all went well, but on rounding the stormy peninsula of Athos the fleet met with a hurricane in which 300 ships and 20,000 men were lost; while by a night attack of the Thracians the land army suffered heavily. These successive disasters discouraged the soldiers, and Mardonius thought it wiser to return to Asia. But the failure did not cause Darius to swerve from his

purpose. A fresh army was collected, and in two years he was ready to try the fortune of war once more.

490. The new expedition was placed under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, who, warned by the fate of Mardonius, avoided the stormy northern route and sailed straight across the Ægean. The fleet touched first at Naxos, and, when the terrified islanders fled to the mountains, their city was burnt. Thence the Persians crossed to Eretria, the chief city of Eubœa, and the inhabitants, knowing that they need expect no mercy, shut themselves up in the city and prepared for a desperate resistance. But after six days they were betrayed by traitors within; the gates were opened, and the citizens carried in chains on board the fleet.

Athens had now to be reckoned with, and the fleet, guided by Hippias, the old despot of that city, crossed to Attica and landed the troops on the plain of Marathon, whence it was but twenty miles march to Athens. As soon as the Athenians heard of the fall of Eretria they sent a swift runner to Sparta to entreat help, but, the summons reaching the Spartans on the eve of a festival, they delayed so long that the Athenians had to face the enemy alone, and as they only mustered 10,000 heavily-armed troops, whilst the Persians were little short of 100,000, the odds seemed terribly against them. Nevertheless they determined to fight at once, and, having chosen Miltiades as their general, they charged the Orientals with desperate courage. The Persians had not expected a battle, and had barely time to form when the Athenians were upon them with so furious an onslaught that they were routed and driven to their ships with great slaughter. A few vessels were captured but the rest escaped and sailed quickly for Athens, hoping to reach it before its defenders could return. The Athenians, however, hurrying across the mountains, got there first, and when the Persians saw them on the beach, fearing to face the victors, they sailed back to Asia.

Though Darius had thus been foiled in his efforts against the Greeks a second time, he found it hard to believe that

Greece was stronger than Persia, and he resolved upon a third expedition to be planned on a scale of unexampled magnitude. But just then Egypt revolted, and he was on his way to reconquer it when he died, having reigned thirty-six years. 486.

Darius was a monarch of no ordinary type. As Cyrus and Cambyses were Elamites, he may justly be considered the founder of the Persian Empire, but in any case he was its saviour, for at his accession the empire of Cyrus was on the eve of dissolution. By a display of extraordinary energy Darius saved it, and organised the government so well that, although he was followed by a succession of feeble monarchs, the empire was preserved, almost in its entirety, for one hundred and fifty years.

CHAPTER V.

XERXES.

486. DARIUS was succeeded by Xerxes, his son by Atossa, a lineal descendant of Cyrus. Apparently Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of Scripture, was of a pacific disposition and would gladly have given up the proposed expedition against Greece, and contented himself with the reconquest of Egypt. But this did not suit the war party at Susa; and besides Persians like Mardonius, who pressed the king to wipe out the memory of past disasters, there were probably many Greek traitors at court who hoped to profit by the subversion of their country and so led him to underrate the difficulties he would have to face.

Before the invasion of Greece could be attempted, Xerxes had to quell the Egyptian revolt, but this did not prove a very serious affair, and soon his hands were free for the more important enterprise. A graphic description of the preliminary conferences with the various satraps and governors is given in Esther. There were 127 provinces represented, and, as the officials had to come long distances, it took six months to interview them all and to instruct each definitely as to the part he was to play in the expedition. At length all was arranged, every camping-place was settled, stores of provisions were accumulated, a double bridge of boats constructed over the Hellespont, and a canal cut through the Athos promontory in order that the fleet might not have to weather the dangerous cape. An enormous fleet was gathered from Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyprus and the coast towns of Asia, and an army of certainly not less than 1,000,000 set out from Sardis in the spring and crossed the Hellespont.

483.

480.

The march through Thrace and Macedonia was uneventful, for these states had acknowledged Persian suzerainty and in any case dared not oppose so huge an army. As soon as it was known that Xerxes had crossed the Hellespont the Greeks met in conference and determined that a stand should be made at Tempe, the pass from Macedonia into Thessaly; but when they found that Xerxes intended to use also other passes by which he could turn the position, the generals determined to fall back upon Thermopylæ which was more easily defensible. Thus Thessaly was abandoned to the enemy, with the result that the Thessalians yielded, sending earth and water to Xerxes.

Leonidas, one of the Spartan kings, who was in command, had under him a force gathered from various parts of Greece and numbering in all about 10,000 men, a force which might have been much greater but that the Spartans selfishly refrained from giving him adequate help. An oracle had declared that "either Sparta or a Spartan king must perish," and the Spartans tried the experiment of sacrificing their king to begin with.

The men with Leonidas were sufficient for the defence of the pass itself, and for two days the battle raged, the Persians making no progress. At length Xerxes, learning that there was a mountain path by which the position might be turned, sent a picked force to take the defenders in the rear. Leonidas also knew of the path and had entrusted the guarding of it to the Phocians, but these basely fled on the first attack and Leonidas saw that his position was no longer tenable. About half the Grecian troops retired, while the Spartans, in accordance with their conception of duty, died at their post. By the capture of Thermopylæ the road to the south was now open to Xerxes, and, passing rapidly along, sacking and destroying as he went, he reached Athens. The Athenians, despairing of being able to defend their city against the Persian horde, evacuated it, removing their people to Salamis and Peloponnesus, and Xerxes, entering the city in triumph, ordered it to

be burnt to the ground. The whole of Northern Greece was now at his mercy, and, as only a short march lay between him and Peloponnesus, there seemed no hope, and a general panic was imminent.

Fortunately Themistocles, the Athenian leader, never lost courage. When Xerxes passed Thermopylæ he saw that Attica was lost, and it was at his instigation that the Athenians had abandoned their city. He now perceived that the best hope of the Greeks lay in so crippling the Persian fleet that it would be forced to retire. Aided by his fleet Xerxes could easily turn the defences of the isthmus at Peloponnesus, but the experience of Thermopylæ showed Themistocles that without it the Persian land forces were not greatly to be feared. Accordingly he used every effort to bring about a decisive sea battle.

Up to this time the fleets had not been idle, and in the encounters the Greeks had been successful, but, when the pass of Thermopylæ was turned, their fleet sailed southward and was now lying in the narrows between Salamis and Attica, whilst the Persian fleet lay a few miles off in the bay of Phalerum. A large portion of the Greek fleet was Athenian, much of the rest was Peloponnesian, and the Peloponnesian captains, alarmed at the proximity of the Persian forces to the isthmus, would have sailed home but for a stratagem of Themistocles. Knowing that their only hope lay in an immediate engagement, and perceiving that the narrowness of the strait was to their advantage, he sent a messenger to Xerxes to tell him that the Greeks were quarrelling amongst themselves and would escape him if he did not act at once. Xerxes took the hint and during the night so closed the straits that the Greeks had no option but to fight. Accordingly fight they did, and to some purpose. The superior numbers of the Persians gave them no advantage in so confined a space, but rather increased their confusion, and, although they fought well, before night they were hopelessly beaten. Two hundred ships were sunk and the sea was covered with wrecks and drowning

men. Xerxes had been a spectator of the battle throughout, and, deeply chagrined and having utterly lost his self-confidence, he began to fear for his personal safety, and spoke of returning to Asia. His departure was hastened by another message from the astute Themistocles, advising him to return before the Greeks had a chance of destroying his bridge over the Hellespont. As a matter of fact the bridge had already been destroyed by a storm, but neither Themistocles nor Xerxes was aware of this, and the latter made for home, leaving Mardonius with 300,000 picked troops to retrieve the Persian disasters if he could. After much suffering the army reached Asia, and was ferried across the Hellespont, after which the bitterly disappointed king retired to Sardis from which eight months before he had departed in such high hope.

There was still a chance that Mardonius would mend matters. He had the best of the troops and could still outnumber in the proportion of three to one any force the Greeks were likely to place in the field. Accordingly he wintered in Thessaly and marched southward in the spring. The Spartans 479
again held selfishly aloof, and the Athenians found it once more necessary to evacuate their city, but when they threatened to make terms with the Persians and leave Sparta to her fate, the Spartans changed their minds and sent an army of considerable strength under Pausanias. On perceiving the changed aspect of affairs Mardonius fell back on a strong position at Platæa, and the Greeks, 100,000 in all, encamped opposite. The battle which followed was a fair test of the quality of the respective forces. There was no generalship worthy of the name on either side, but both Persians and Greeks fought with desperate valour. At length the discipline, the better weapons, and the physical strength of the European troops told and the Persians were utterly routed. The carnage was terrible. Artabazus, the uncle of Xerxes and colleague of Mardonius, drew off 40,000 men in good order, and, speeding quickly round the coast, reached the Hellespont before the wild tribes of Thrace had news of the disaster. Mardonius and the

rest were slain, and enormous quantities of spoil fell into the hands of the Greeks. Nor was this all, for another battle of great importance was fought on the other side of the Ægean, it is said on the very day of the battle of Platæa. A fleet had been collected at Ægina and sent across to watch the Persian fleet and prevent it crossing to help Mardonius. The Greeks found the Persian fleet drawn up on shore at Mycale, protected by a considerable army, but without a moment's hesitation they landed and attacked them. The battle was fierce, but it ended in the complete defeat of the Persians and the destruction of their fleet. Encouraged by this, the Asiatic Greeks openly rebelled, and Xerxes, leaving Sardis where he was now scarcely safe, returned to Susa, having lost his army, his hold upon Europe, and the larger part of one of his best Asiatic provinces.

Xerxes lived for fourteen years after Platæa, but did not achieve anything worthy of record. Some of the incidents of this portion of his life are related in Esther. The quarrel with his wife Amestris, the Vashti of Esther, took place before the invasion of Greece, during the festivities which preceded it. The choice of Esther (whose real name was Hadassah, the other name being synonymous with Istar or Venus and probably given on account of her beauty) occurred about six years later, after Xerxes had returned from his disastrous expedition. A conspiracy had been formed against him which was detected by Mordecai, whose relationship to Esther was not generally known. The incidents in connection with Haman, followed and need not be repeated here. The Jews had not received any favour from Xerxes. During the reign of his energetic and strong-willed father they had been protected, but Xerxes was weak and easily persuaded by their enemies to discourage them, so that the rebuilding of Jerusalem came to a standstill during the twenty years of his reign. Haman therefore had little difficulty in persuading him to barter away their lives, the king scarcely realising what he had promised. The devotion of Esther and her uncle were,

however, a match for the wicked courtier, and, though the edicts issued could not be withdrawn, others were sent out permitting the Jews to stand upon the defensive, and the Persian officials being now on their side, the tables were turned upon their enemies. Xerxes did not reign long after these events. A second conspiracy was more successful than the first, and he was assassinated by two of the palace officials, instigated, some think, by Amestris, his first wife.

CHAPTER VI.

LOSS OF SUPREMACY.

465. Xerxes was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus).

Early in his reign Egypt revolted under Inarus, and this rebellion was the more serious as the Athenians took part in it, sending two expeditions to the help of the Egyptians. Matters looked serious for Persia, but Artaxerxes made a su-

454. preme effort and at last Megabyzus crushed the revolt. The Athenians were cut to pieces, only a handful of fugitives escaping to Cyrene whence they carried the news of the disaster to Athens.

449. Greatly galled by their failure in Egypt, the Athenians sent an expedition against Cyprus, which still acknowledged Persian suzerainty. The warlike Cimon commanded the expedition, and it was successful, destroying the Persian fleet off the town of Salamis, and then landing and defeating their army on the shore. But Cimon fell ill and died, and the expedition returned to Athens; and as both the Greeks and Persians had now wearied of fighting, an understanding was

449. come to called the Peace of Callias, by which they tacitly undertook to let one another alone.

An inscription of Artaxerxes has come down to us in which he praises his god Ormuzd, the Persian conception of the creator.

"A great god is Ormuzd, who created the heaven, who created the earth, who created man, who has given blessings to men, who made Artaxerxes king, sole king of many kings, sole ruler of many rulers. . . .

"In the shadow of Ormuzd I have finished this house

which my father began. May Ormuzd protect me and my work, and my sovereignty and my lands."

Artaxerxes I. showed much kindness to the Jews, and was the patron of Ezra and Nehemiah. During the reign of Xerxes the building of the walls of Jerusalem had been suspended, but Artaxerxes sent Ezra to Jerusalem with as many 458.
priests, Levites and others as cared to accompany him, and added so many valuable gifts that Ezra broke forth into thanks to God for having made his heart so generous. Thirteen years later he allowed Nehemiah, his cupbearer, to 445.
go up, appointing him Governor of Judæa. The fact that the Persian Empire was waning is shown by the difficulties which surrounded Nehemiah in spite of the favour and decrees of the king, for he found it necessary to guard continually the lives of the men who were at work. The growing weakness of the central authority was further shown by the revolt of Megabyzus, the satrap of Syria, who was so successful in his defiance of authority that Artaxerxes had to agree to his terms and condone his rebellion—a state of things which would have been impossible under the rule of kings like Cyrus or Darius.

Artaxerxes I. died after a reign of forty years. He was 425.
estimable in some ways, but weak, and he left a disordered court and an empire in which the signs of decay were showing themselves clearly. He had been kind to the Jews, and it was mainly because of his patronage that they became established, for none of his successors showed them like favour.

Artaxerxes' son reigned as Xerxes II. for two months, and was then assassinated by his brother Sogdianus, who, seven months later, was also put to death.

Darius II. (Nothus), a third brother, now ascended the 424.
throne, and married Parysatis the daughter of Artaxerxes I., by whom he had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus, immortalised by Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. Darius Nothus was a man of feeble character, and allowed the power to fall into the hands of Parysatis who used assassination as her chief aid

in administration. There were many rebellions during her reign, the most important being in Lydia. Tissaphernes quelled this, and for his services was made satrap of the province, in which capacity and in conjunction with Pharnabazus, the neighbouring satrap, he inaugurated a new policy in dealing with the Grecian states. The wily satraps found that notwithstanding their patriotism Greeks had their price, and that Persian gold was a more formidable weapon than the Persian sword, and they used their knowledge to the ruin of Greece, ceasing to war upon the states, but subsidising the states to war upon each other. The Persians also began to employ Greek mercenaries freely in their service, and their armies and fleets were often almost as much Greek as Persian.

404. Darius was succeeded by his eldest son Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon). Artaxerxes had been born before Darius ascended the throne, and, partly on this pretext, Parysatis had endeavoured to obtain the crown for her younger and favourite son Cyrus. This prince had been made governor of Western Asia by his father, and had used his power against Athens with fatal effect. When his father died, leaving the crown to Artaxerxes, Cyrus determined to supplant him. At first he tried assassination, but the plot failed and Cyrus' life was only spared because of the earnest intercession of his mother. He was allowed to return to his satrapy, and repaid his brother's forbearance by immediately organising an expedition against him.

The Peloponnesian war had just ended with the submission of Athens, and many Greek soldiers of fortune being now idle, Cyrus, who knew their value, employed agents to enlist likely ones in his service. The better to cloak his designs he pretended that he meant to make war upon a neighbouring satrap, though whether upon Tissaphernes or the Pisidians was not quite clear. Tissaphernes, however, guessed the truth and warned Artaxerxes, who made his arrangements accordingly.

At length Cyrus, having gathered 13,000 Greeks and 100,000 native troops, set out on his march to Babylon.

Clearchus, the Greek general, knew, and the leading Greek officers must have known, what Cyrus' purpose was, but the rank and file were kept in ignorance as long as possible, and, when at last they learned the truth, a little judicious liberality reconciled them to the project.

The march of the army was unopposed until they came to Cunaxa, 60 miles from Babylon. There were places on the route which might have been made impregnable, notably the gates of Cilicia and the gates of Syria, but the prince of Cilicia favoured Cyrus, and the satrap of Syria offered no resistance. At last when the troops were marching in 401.
easy fashion, their arms piled on the wagons, a swift horseman brought intelligence of the approach of the army of Artaxerxes. So vast was it that it spread for miles over the plain, outnumbering that of Cyrus ten times. Nevertheless it could have been beaten by good generalship. At the onset of the Greeks the Persian left wing fled without striking a blow; and had the Greeks kept themselves under control, and wheeling, taken the army of Artaxerxes in flank, success would have been certain; but they chased the beaten Persians for miles, and returned to find the native part of their army defeated and Cyrus slain.

The position of the Greeks was now exceedingly perilous. The Asiatic portion of Cyrus' army solved the problem by going over to the enemy, but the Greeks could not do that with safety. At length, after profound anxiety and the loss of their leaders by treachery, they elected new generals and began their famous retreat, marching northward to the Black Sea. This retreat was accomplished in the face of unparalleled difficulties, yet when the force arrived in Europe its numbers were not seriously diminished. The extraordinary adventures of the 10,000 were talked about everywhere, and dispelled many illusions which had existed concerning the solidarity of the Persian Empire. It was felt that, if a detachment of Greeks could thus beard the king at the gates of Babylon and thereafter reach home in safety, the greatly-dreaded empire must

after all be a hollow affair. The troubles of the 10,000 did not end with their return, for their fellow-Greeks looked askance on so compact a body of free lances; but, fortunately for them, war broke out between Sparta and Persia, and Thimbron, the Spartan general, gladly availed himself of their services and merged them in his army.

CHAPTER VII.

REBELLION.

THIMBRON the Spartan achieved nothing of consequence against Persia, and was superseded by Dercyllidas who was somewhat more successful. Agesilaus, king of Sparta, then himself took 399. over the command in Asia, and made such headway that Artaxerxes ordered Tissaphernes to be executed, and sent another satrap in his place. Tithraustes, the new governor, was at first as unfortunate as his predecessor, and Western Asia seemed to be slipping from the grasp of Persia, when the satrap determined to try once more the power of Persian gold. A Rhodian named Timocrates was accordingly sent across to stir up against Sparta such states as did not favour her supremacy. The result of these intrigues was that in a short time Sparta, in extremity, had to recall Agesilaus, and abandon operations which otherwise might have ended in the conquest of Asia Minor. The departure of Agesilaus was followed by the naval 394. battle of Cnidus with which all hope of Spartan dominion in Asia passed away. Matters also turned out badly for the Spartans in Europe, and they were now so anxious to bring the war to a close that negotiations were begun and a general peace arranged known as "the Peace of Antalcidas". By this 387. peace the Asiatic cities, which had been free ever since the failure of Xerxes, were once more surrendered to Persia, and the king of Persia was practically recognised as arbiter of the Grecian states.

It suited Persia to be at peace with the Greeks for a time, as several of her provinces were giving trouble, and she could now, not only turn her attention to these, but have the help of

Greek mercenaries in dealing with them. The most formidable rebellion was in Cyprus, where Evagoras, king of Salamis, was so successful, that he even carried his arms to the mainland and conquered Tyre. After the Peace of Antalcidas, Artaxerxes made a great effort and completely defeated him, but permitted him to retain his crown.

The Cadusians whose territories lay near the Caspian were next attacked with an army estimated at 300,000 men. They were brave people and Artaxerxes, who commanded in person, was reduced to great straits, and was only saved from defeat and enabled to make a satisfactory peace by Tribazus his deputy. The Cadusians were in two armies and Tribazus persuaded each leader that the other was about to make peace on his own behalf, the result being that both made submission.

There remained Egypt, which had been independent since
375. the reign of Darius Nothus. Determined to win it back, Artaxerxes obtained the services of Iphicrates, an Athenian general, and sent him with Pharnabazus, a Persian, against the Egyptians. The generals landed successfully in the Delta, and could have easily conquered Egypt had Pharnabazus possessed ordinary energy, but he procrastinated until the Nile rose and the season for military operations passed, after which the generals evacuated Egypt with mutual recriminations.

During the remaining years of Artaxerxes II. his intervention was asked by Sparta, Thebes, and Athens, so that by common consent they recognised him as arbitrator, if not actually suzerain. His last years were made bitter by revolts amongst his satraps, and by heart-breaking domestic trouble. He seems to have been a well-meaning man, but to have had little strength of will, and unscrupulous relatives took advantage of his weakness. Before he died he had seen his favourite wife poisoned, two of his sons assassinated, and a third driven to commit suicide. He reigned forty-six years and is said to have been ninety-four years of age when he died.

359. Ochus succeeded his father, reigning as Artaxerxes III.,

and proving a brutal and bloodthirsty king. He obtained the crown by assassination, and began his career by slaying all of the blood-royal likely to dispute his position, after which he set himself to the task of government.

His first efforts were devoted to the reconquest of Egypt, now independent for half a century. Marching in person at the head of a vast army, he attacked Nectanebo, but the Egyptian king obtained the help of Greek generals and defeated him in the field. The success of the Egyptians encouraged other provinces to revolt, and Phœnicia and Cyprus declared themselves independent. Ochus sent his satraps against the rebels, but they were defeated by the king of Sidon, who was aided by Greek mercenaries commanded by Mentor a Rhodian. For the moment the Persians were driven out of Phœnicia, but Ochus afterwards advanced at the head of so vast an army that the Sidonian king lost courage, and in hope of making terms for himself, treacherously admitted him within the defences of the town. The Sidonians sued for mercy, but, when they saw with what barbarity their suppliants were treated, they shut themselves up in their houses and set the city on fire. Forty thousand persons perished in the conflagration.

With his victorious army strengthened by the addition of Greek mercenaries, Ochus again invaded Egypt. The Egyptian army was greatly inferior, nevertheless Nectanebo might have made a prolonged resistance; but, after the first reverse, he retreated to Memphis, and, when Ochus again approached, fled southward to Ethiopia. Ochus marched through the country in triumph, destroying cities and plundering temples, and at last taking back with him to Persia enormous booty. His success in Egypt was largely due to the genius of his two generals, Mentor and Bagoas, and these were promoted to places of high importance, the former obtaining charge of the Asiatic seaboard, whilst the latter accompanied the king to the capital and became chief administrator of the internal affairs of the empire.

Mentor and Bagoas were men of undoubted capacity and did their work so well that the last years of Artaxerxes III. were vigorous and successful, and it seemed as if the Persian Empire was about to recover its former glory. But the barbarity of the king made him hateful to his subjects,
338. and Bagoas at last, perhaps fearing evil to himself, had him poisoned.

Bagoas then put Arses, the youngest son of Ochus, on the throne, but, as he proved too independent, he was assassinated in his turn, his children also being slain. Bagoas then put a
336. personal friend, Darius Codomannus, upon the throne, who was of the blood-royal, though not in the direct line. The year which saw Darius III. ascend the throne saw the assassination of Philip of Macedon and the accession of Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLLAPSE.

ALTHOUGH Philip of Macedon was but forty-seven years of age at his death, he had raised Macedonia from insignificance to empire, and had two years before, by the victory of Chæroneia, placed himself at the head of Greece. In this 338.
capacity he had called a congress at Corinth and declared his intention of invading Asia; and the Greeks, perhaps hoping that he would never come back, voted him supplies with some alacrity. The Persians had long been aware of the storm that was brewing, but, when news came that Philip was assassinated, and that a youth of twenty years 336.
had succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, they thought the danger had gone by. Darius therefore, ascending the throne just before the death of Philip, must have experienced a feeling of profound relief at that event, and doubtless suspended the military preparations which were in progress. But the extraordinary success of Alexander in Thrace, Illyria and Bœotia, speedily undeceived the Persians, and the preparations were hastily resumed. A fleet was prepared, reinforcements were sent to Asia Minor; and Memnon, the brother of Mentor, an able general, was dispatched to the Hellespont to command the Greek mercenaries.

Memnon was at first successful in his operations against Parmenio and Callas, Macedonian leaders who had been sent across by Philip before his death. This success, however, proved rather a curse than a blessing, for it led the satraps to undervalue the Macedonians, and to think that the expedition which was about to cross under Alexander was no whit more serious

than expeditions which had crossed before and done no great harm. Accordingly the fatal mistake was made of permitting Alexander's army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse to cross the Hellespont unopposed, although the Persian fleet was more formidable than anything the Macedonian could have brought against it.

334. The initial mistake having been made of allowing so powerful an enemy to enter the empire, Memnon, who alone realised the serious nature of the situation, advised the satraps to avoid a pitched battle and fall back before the Macedonians, laying waste the country as they retired; but the Persians refused to listen to this advice, and took up a position on the river Granicus, determining to dispute the ford. They did their best and their Greek mercenaries fought with desperation, but the long spears of the Macedonian phalanx bore down all opposition and soon the Persian forces were in full flight. Their loss was enormous, and this battle made Alexander master in Asia Minor, for, though certain cities stood out bravely, after one or two sieges the rest quickly capitulated. Still there was a hope for the Persians, for Memnon held the sea and might raise trouble for Alexander in Europe and thus
333. compel him to return. Unfortunately for Darius, Memnon died, and with his life departed any chance the Persians might have had of ultimate victory. All idea of stirring up disaffection against Alexander in Europe, or of holding possession of the Ægean, or even of obstructing the march of the conqueror by defending the passes, was given up, and Darius resolved to stake his all upon a pitched battle in the open field.

The Persian monarch accordingly gathered a great army at Babylon, including about 600,000 Persian troops, and 30,000 Greek mercenaries. Had Darius known how to manage his army he might have given Alexander trouble enough, but his generalship proved beneath contempt. The army marched up the Euphrates, meaning to fight in the plains of Northern Syria where so great a force of cavalry and infantry might

have deployed advantageously. But as Alexander, marching eastward, drew near the enemy, he heard to his astonishment and delight that Darius had shifted his camp and gathered his huge army into a narrow defile at Issus, where it would be impossible for one half of his forces even to see the battle. The result was what might have been expected. The native Persians and Greek mercenaries fought well enough, but the superior weapons, discipline and determination of the Macedonians triumphed and the Persians fled. The great host, entangled in the narrow valley, lost terribly, and the camp with its treasure and the family of Darius fell into the conqueror's hands.

Alexander had now to choose whether he would pursue Darius eastward or first thoroughly subdue the sea-coast, for though he had mastered Asia Minor, Darius was still acknowledged as suzerain by Phœnicia, Philistia and Egypt. The simpler way seemed to be to follow the king and strike at the heart of the empire, but Alexander now knew that Darius was not formidable in the field. If he chose to raise another army Alexander could prepare for it at his leisure. What he had rather to fear was that Darius might, through the coast towns, keep up communication with Southern Greece, and perhaps by a free use of the money of which he had such store, stir up the states to revolt. This was a real danger, and Alexander felt that it was better not to plunge into the heart of the Persian Empire until he had provided against it.

Accordingly the Macedonians marched southward along the sea-coast into Phœnicia. Most of the cities of that quarter, Sidon, Byblus and the rest, opened their gates without question, but Tyre, whilst willing to pay homage, refused to admit Alexander within its walls, and he, exasperated at the refusal, besieged it. As he had no fleet and Tyre stood on an island, he determined to construct a mole from the mainland, but for a long time this work was carried on with much difficulty. At last he gathered a fleet and drove the Tyrians back into their harbour, after which the mole was

soon completed. The Tyrians, however, fought to the last with desperate courage, and it was seven months before the city fell.

332. The fall of Tyre so discouraged the partisans of Persia that Gaza was the only other city that dared to resist. Here Batis, the brave governor, fought for three months, and so maddened Alexander by his courage that, when at last he made him a prisoner, he dragged him behind his chariot, galloping at full speed, until the corpse was battered to pieces.

Whilst these sieges were in progress ambassadors arrived from Darius offering terms of peace. The humbled king was willing to pay a heavy ransom, to give Alexander his daughter in marriage, and to bestow as her dowry such part of his empire as lay west of the Euphrates. But this proposal was contemptuously refused, and Darius had no alternative but either to deliver himself up as a prisoner, or try once more the fortune of battle. He decided on the latter alternative, and, as his troops were hampered at Issus owing to the nature of the ground, he gathered a fresh army on a broad and level plain at Arbela, not far from the site of Nineveh.

Meanwhile Alexander had reached Egypt and been received with acclamation, for the Egyptians detested the Persian rule, and hailed him as a deliverer. The Jews also paid Alexander homage, and there is a not improbable tradition that he visited Jerusalem and sacrificed in the temple. During his residence in Egypt he founded the city of Alexandria, and made a pilgrimage to the famous temple of Jupiter Amon, which stood on an oasis five days' march into the desert.

331. At length, the sea-board being completely mastered, and there being now no hostile fleet on the Ægean, Alexander advanced to seek Darius. After crossing the Euphrates and Tigris he found the great army with which he had to cope awaiting him at a place called Gaugamela near Arbela. Alexander had but 50,000 troops and Darius had nearly a 1,000,000—twenty-five nations fighting under his standard. The field of battle was on this occasion well selected, and

levelled by artificial means, so that it might be more available for cavalry. The Persians also fought well, but again the Macedonian phalanx was irresistible; Darius lost heart and fled, and the battle was over.

With Arbela fell the Persian Empire. In three battles, at the Granicus, Issus and Arbela the Macedonians had met the most formidable forces that the Persians could gather against them in fair fight, and had chased them headlong from the field. No further effort was possible. Neither on sea nor on land could Darius any longer resist. After Arbela Alexander marched straight to Babylon, and the Babylonians, pleased like the Egyptians at the change of masters, strewed flowers on his way. Susa next yielded, and there and at Babylon immense treasure fell into the hands of Alexander. Whilst resting his army he reorganised the government, and examined into the condition of the provinces, appointing new satraps in some, and confirming in office others who seemed likely to obey him. He then marched into Persia proper, where a brave stand was made by Ariobarzanes, who held him in check at a pass known as "the Susian gates". After five days the defenders were cut to pieces, but Ariobarzanes escaped to Persepolis and died there, fighting to the last. Alexander destroyed Persepolis, apparently for no other reason than that it was the ancient capital of Persia, and its destruction furnished an object lesson to the world that the rule of the Persian was at an end.

Darius fled to the Median capital of Ecbatana, and thither 330.
Alexander followed him. Thence eastward by the Caspian shore the wretched fugitive was hunted, until at last, worn out in body and broken in spirit, he refused to fly farther. His wild followers, despising his cowardice and desirous that he should not fall alive into the hands of Alexander, flung their javelins at him and fled, and, when the Macedonian came up shortly after, the last king of the royal Achæmenian line lay stiffening at his feet.

Alexander had now gained the summit of his ambition. He was master of the Persian Empire and supreme in Western Asia

and Eastern Europe. The rest of the story will be found in the history of the Macedonian Empire. Here it need only be said that after some years spent in pushing his conquests to the extremest limits of the Persian Empire, and perhaps even beyond, he returned to Susa, where he allowed himself relaxation from toil. He spent the following year or two between Susa, Ecbatana and Babylon. Whether he had any idea of welding his European and Asiatic subjects into one empire or was simply enamoured with Asiatic luxury we cannot tell, but he adopted Oriental dress and habits, and encouraged his soldiers to follow his example. At last, whilst inquiring into the merits of proposed irrigation works in the vicinity of Babylon, he caught fever and died.

323. He left no heir capable of succeeding him and his conquests were divided amongst his generals, but with the death of Alexander the ancient history of the Persian Empire comes to an end.

THE HEBREWS.

HEBREW KINGDOM
AT THE TIME OF
KINGS DAVID AND SOLOMON.

THE HEBREWS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FATHER OF THE FAITHFUL.

In dealing with this most interesting and important race, there is difficulty in choosing a name in which there shall be no ambiguity. If we call them the "Jews," we seem to exclude the tribes specially known as Israelites, if we speak of the "Israelites," we seem to exclude the Jews. Perhaps the name of "Hebrews" gives rise to less confusion than any other. Yet there was originally nothing Israelitish or Jewish about the word Hebrew, which did not come from the name of a special ancestor as has been supposed, but simply meant "a dweller on the other side," or "a crosser of the river". The word occurs first in Genesis, where a fugitive from the raid of the kings in which Lot was captured came and told "Abram, the Hebrew". Later, when Joseph in prison entreated the chief butler to befriend him, he said: "For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews". Whether at this time the word applied exclusively to the descendants of Abram or was a general term by which the Canaanites were known to the Egyptians we cannot say, but certainly its use became afterwards limited to the children of Abram, and it has been freely accepted by them. This contracted use of the name may be traced as far back as the Oppression, when the Egyptians speak of "the Hebrew women," and Pharaoh's daughter says of Moses, "This is one of the Hebrews' children".

Abram, the progenitor of this great race, was a Babylonian, born in Ur, a city with which the ruins of Mugheir are now identified. The city was in early days the seat of a dynasty of kings who gained ascendency over Babylonia and carried their arms both east and west. They were not the first Babylonian kings who had invaded the west, for in earlier times Sargon, king of Accad, had left memorials of an expedition on the shores of the Mediterranean, and his son, Naram-Sin, had gone as far as the Sinaitic peninsula. Thus early, therefore, Babylonia and Canaan were associated, and when the Babylonian kings were powerful enough, they treated the petty kings of Palestine as vassals. Records which have come to light prove that there was much commercial intercourse between the countries, and that the Babylonian language and Babylonish customs were familiar to the Canaanites. Hence there was nothing strange about the migration of Abram's family to Canaan, and we can understand the ease with which he fitted into his new surroundings.

In the time of Abram, Ur was decaying. It had given place to Babylon and Babylon to Larsa, of which Eri-Aku was prince. In Babylonia, Khammurabi ruled, but both Larsa and Babylonia had been conquered by Kudur-Lagamar, king of Elam, and Eri-Aku and Khammurabi were his vassals.

The patriarchal family which left Ur and went to Harran consisted of Terah, his sons, Abram and Nahor, and their wives, Sarai and Milcah, their nephew Lot, whose father had died in Ur, and others of less importance. Harran was a city on the northern Babylonian frontier in the district known as Padan Aram, and between it and Ur there was much affinity in customs and religion. After Terah's death, Nahor and his family remained in Harran, but Abram moved southward to Canaan accompanied by his nephew Lot, and their respective households. There was a famine in Canaan shortly after their arrival, and they went down to Egypt for a time; for as that country has the advantage of the Nile inundation, it is less dependent on local rainfall, and often has abundance when

other countries are suffering from drought. At this time Egypt was under the rule of the Asiatic invaders known as the Hyksos, kings of either Elamitic or Arabian origin. Their seat of government was just over the frontier, at Zoan, in the eastern corner of the Delta, so that Abram came into contact with the court; and, being a rich sheikh of much the same race as themselves, he was well received. *Circa* 2000.

On their return from Egypt to Canaan, Abram and Lot parted company—the latter preferring to dwell in the prosperous but profligate cities of the Jordan valley, whilst Abram made his home at Mamre, near Hebron, and entered into friendly alliance with Aner, Eshcol and Mamre, neighbouring Amorite chiefs. Not long after the separation, the king of Elam and his vassals raided the west, conquered the petty kings on the shores of the Dead Sea, who had been his vassals but had revolted, and carried away many captives—Lot amongst the rest. Abram being told of it, hurriedly armed his retainers, and, joined by his Amorite allies, pursued the victorious invaders, attacked their rear guard by night, and recovered both prisoners and booty. This raid was long a puzzle to critics, but cuneiform inscriptions recently discovered enable us to identify the names as given in Genesis, Chedorlaomer, Amraphel, Arioch and Tidal, with Kudur-Lagamar, king of Elam; Khammurabi, king of Babylon; Eri-Aku, king of Larsa; and Tudghula, king of the Kurdish tribes east of the Babylonian frontier. Shortly after this, Khammurabi rebelled, and defeated Kudur-Lagamar and Eri-Aku, making Babylonia independent of Elam, so that Abram's successful sally may have led to the freedom of his fatherland.

Returning victorious, Abram was met by Melchizedek, king of Salem. Tablets recently found at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt throw much light on this incident, and confirm the exactness of the Scripture narrative. Amongst these are letters from the king of Urusalim which show that the city was of much importance, and really the capital of Southern Palestine at a remote date. Some mystery has gathered

round Melchizedek because of the illustrations drawn from his person in the sacred writings, but nothing mysterious need be inferred concerning him. He was king of Salem, and priest of the temple erected to "the most high god," the god of peace in that city. He had not inherited this dignity, and nothing is said about his parentage or after life; he appears and disappears abruptly, having "neither beginning of days nor end of life". These circumstances fitted him for the illustration drawn by the apostle, but as regards himself there is no mystery. The expression "without father or mother," to signify one who had not succeeded to his position by hereditary right, was not unusual. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the king of Urusalim, a successor of Melchizedek, says "Neither my father nor my mother, but the arm of the mighty king" (that is, the god whose temple stood in Urusalim) "established me". Urusalim being a sacred city, it was entirely in accordance with Babylonian custom that Abram should pay tithes to its priest king, for there are many receipts for tithe amongst the Babylonian tablets which have been found, and thus by independent evidence the narrative in Genesis, long looked upon by critics as incredible, is confirmed in its minutest detail.

Notwithstanding the disasters which had overtaken Lot, he continued to dwell in the cities near the Dead Sea, and narrowly escaped being overwhelmed in their destruction. The method by which they were destroyed may have been more in accordance with natural law than has been generally supposed. The district abounded in naphtha springs, the "slime pits" of which we read being excavations from which the naphtha shale was dug. Thus the soil must have been saturated with highly inflammable oil, and if a thunderstorm burst over the district and the lightning set the oil on fire, the cities would soon be in a blaze. Conflagrations of a similar nature are not unknown in modern times in the oil districts of America and Southern Russia.

Just before the birth of Isaac, his son and heir, God pro-

mised Abram that great blessings would be conferred upon mankind through his seed, and in memory of the covenant changed his name to Abraham (father of a great multitude), and that of his wife to Sarah (princess). After this came the trial by which he was asked to sacrifice the son on whom his hopes depended. Isaac was now a lad, and must at the last have acquiesced in the proposed sacrifice, but the result showed that it was only God's purpose to demonstrate to all time the unswerving faith of the patriarch. At the critical moment the hand was stayed, and the will accepted for the deed.

The death of Sarah led to the purchase of a burying place from the Hittites. In recent years many Babylonian contract tablets have been found, and the manner of the contract of sale as recorded in Genesis is in harmony with these. At a later period the procedure was altered, so that the description of the purchase of the field of Machpelah fixes it as pre-Mosaic. It is noteworthy, as showing how honourable men were in their dealings in that primitive age, that when Jacob died, two centuries later, his embalmed remains were carried to the same burial place, the rights of property having been respected all that time.

Abraham, as was the custom, had several wives and many sons besides Isaac, and these scattering eastward became progenitors of tribes, some of whom even at the present day are proud to trace their origin to El-Khalîl, "the friend" of God.

CHAPTER II.

JOSEPH.

THE life of Isaac was uneventful. He had by Rebecca twin sons Esau and Jacob, and the latter was chosen by God as the one through whom the promised blessings should descend. As the boys grew into men the wisdom of the choice became apparent, for Esau led a wandering desert life—becoming head of the Edomites, whilst Jacob became more thoughtful as he grew older, and better suited to be the progenitor of a settled people.

In Jacob's early days his conduct was deceitful, and he was punished by having to flee from his father's house and live in exile. He went to Harran, where Nahor's branch of the family still dwelt, and there married his cousins Leah and Rachel. In partnership with his uncle Laban he prospered, and when at length he turned homeward he had great wealth and a numerous family. Although so many years had passed, he dreaded meeting his brother whom he had deceived, and was terrified when he heard that he was coming to meet him at the head of a formidable Edomite band. His terror drove him to God, his fears were calmed, and next day the brothers met in friendship. Many years after when the Israelites, marching towards Canaan, desired to cross the land of Edom, Moses referred to the relationship saying, "Thus saith thy brother Israel," and when the king of Edom refused peaceful passage the Israelites did not declare war upon him, but went by a round-about way.

Jacob's sons were far from perfect, and some of them caused their father much sorrow. Joseph, Rachel's first-born, was an

exception, and was his father's favourite, but the ground of preference was spiritual affinity and nobility of character. His superiority made him hateful to his brethren, and they sold him to a caravan of merchants, who were proceeding to Egypt with their wares.

The story of Joseph in Egypt is exquisite in every detail, and beautifully describes the Egyptian life of that period. It is not necessary to repeat the story here. We know how, under trying circumstances, Joseph gave proof of rectitude and capacity, and was promoted, first in his master's house and afterwards in prison. The amnesty on Pharaoh's birthday and the release of his fellow-prisoner followed, and at last Joseph gained Pharaoh's favour by interpreting his dream. The shaving of Joseph before he could be admitted into Pharaoh's presence, the suddenness of his elevation, the throwing of the chain of gold around his neck, the running before his chariot crying, "The seer, the seer," the new name which he received, Zaphnath-paaneah, the name of his wife, Asenath, and of his father-in-law, Potiphera, are all suggestive of the Egypt of that time.

Pharaoh's dream had foretold seven years of plenty to be followed by seven of famine, and Joseph, as his representative, utilised the years of plenty by storing corn to be sold to the people when the famine came. His methods have been criticised, and some say that he reduced the people to the condition of serfs, buying their persons and lands for Pharaoh. There is reason to believe, however, that his measures, instead of depressing, improved the condition of the people. From the monuments we gather that a change took place in land tenure during the Hyksos' dynasty, and doubtless at this very time. Formerly, Egypt had been divided amongst the aristocracy, who owned both land and people. Joseph's measures freed the people from all service except that which they owed to the crown, and the land theoretically resumed by Pharaoh was returned by him to the cultivators with a crown title and a uniform rent of one-fifth of the produce. Joseph's method

was in fact much the same as the nationalisation of land which some advocate at the present day.

An inscription has been deciphered in a tomb at El-Kab in Upper Egypt, in which one Baba says: "I collected corn, as a friend of the harvest god, I was watchful at the time of sowing. And when a famine arose, lasting many years, I distributed corn to the city each year of famine." The date of the inscription agrees with the time of Joseph and undoubtedly the same famine is alluded to.

A famine in Egypt did not necessarily mean a famine elsewhere, but in this particular instance Canaan also suffered, and Jacob's sons came to Egypt to buy food. Joseph easily recognised his ten brethren, but they failed to recognise in the gorgeously-apparelled and stately vizier the brother whom they had sold for a slave. The way in which Joseph tested the condition of their hearts is inimitably told, and the concluding incidents when, the cup having been found in Benjamin's sack, the brethren are advised to save themselves, but, rather than desert their brother, return, certainly to bondage, possibly to death; the manner in which Judah with the calmness of despair recounts the story from the beginning and ends by beseeching the grand vizier to accept him as a slave in Benjamin's stead, and thus save their aged father's heart from breaking; Joseph's sudden outburst of emotion and revelation of himself; the terror of the brethren, and the joyful after-events, all these together form a narrative of dramatic beauty almost unsurpassed. At Joseph's request Jacob and the rest of the family migrated to Egypt and settled in Goshen, a fertile province on the eastern side of the Delta, now traversed by the railway from Ismailia to Zagazig, where they prospered and multiplied exceedingly.

Circa 1700.

We cannot say in whose reign these incidents occurred, but it was during the Hyksos period, and probably towards its close. Some think that Joseph's patron was Apepi II., in whose reign the war of independence broke out, in which

case Jacob's family must have settled in Egypt on the eve of troublous times.

In connection with the interview between Pharaoh and Joseph's brethren the statement is made that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians". This antipathy has been referred to the fact that Egypt had been conquered by the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, but this would be no sufficient explanation, seeing that Pharaoh was himself one of them. The true explanation doubtless is that given by Professor Sayce, who says that "the flocks of the Delta were tended partly by Bedouin, partly by half-caste Egyptians, who were looked on as pariahs".

CHAPTER III.

THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

FOUR centuries elapsed between the migration of the Hebrews into Egypt and the Exodus, and for a time they were well enough treated. But the Pharaoh under whose auspices they had entered Egypt was a member of a foreign dynasty against which a war of independence broke out. The war lasted a long time, but at last ended in the expulsion of the Hyksos kings and the re-establishment of a native dynasty. The Hebrews had thus lost their natural protectors; nevertheless the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, who came upon the
1600. scene about this time, did not interfere with them. On the contrary these kings were themselves Asiatic in tone, marrying
1400. Syrian wives and introducing foreign customs. One of them, Amenhotep III., married Tyi, a Syrian princess and sun worshipper, and their son, Akhenaten, abandoned the national religion for the worship of the solar disc; and when this led to friction with the priesthood of Thebes, he changed his capital to Tel el-Amarna, and surrounded himself both in his temples and in the government of the country with foreigners. After his death there was a reaction, the foreigners were ejected, and the national religion and nationalist party triumphed. The next kings, therefore, those of the nineteenth dynasty, gave no quarter to foreigners, and these were the kings who knew not Joseph, but made the lives of the Hebrews "bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field".

There was good reason why tyrannical kings like those who now arose should view with alarm the rapid increase of

the Hebrews, seeing that they were aliens, and lived in a quarter where, if inclined to be disloyal, they could lend invaluable aid to Asiatic invaders. The word went forth therefore to treat them with rigour. The free and independent life they had been leading they led no more; their flocks and herds were confiscated; they were treated as captives of war and forced to toil under the lash upon the public works. The Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty who treated the Hebrews with such severity were Ramses I., Seti I., Ramses II. and Merenptah, and in an inscription dating from the reign of the last-mentioned the following words occur: "The Israelites are spoiled so that they have no seed".

Moses was born during the reign of Ramses II., the mighty monarch who lived one hundred years, reigned sixty-seven years, and whose embalmed remains have been identified. As the Hebrews continued to increase notwithstanding the cruel treatment to which they were subjected, Ramses ordered their male infants to be slain, a command which was doubtless largely disobeyed. At this juncture Moses was born, and saved from death by Pharaoh's own favourite daughter, Bint-Anat, who, herself half Syrian, had much sympathy with the Hebrews. *Circa* 1270.

Moses received in the palace the best education that Egypt could afford, but was in no doubt concerning his parentage, and as he grew older the sufferings of his people burned into his soul. One day, seeing an Egyptian smite a Hebrew, he slew the Egyptian, and the thing becoming known and the anger of Ramses being aroused, Moses fled across the Sinaitic peninsula and took refuge in Midian. Here he was well received, and Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro the priest and prince of Midian, was given him to wife. After the death of Ramses II., there being still no mitigation in the condition of the Hebrews, God ordered Moses to return to Egypt and demand their freedom—his brother Aaron being associated with him in the enterprise. The task was apparently superhuman, and it is no wonder that Moses shrank from it.

The interference of Moses and Aaron at first only added to the miseries of their countrymen. Thousands of them were engaged in the making of bricks for which much straw was required, partly for mixing with the clay and partly for firing the bricks. The straw and brushwood had been heretofore supplied to the workers in the kilns, but Pharaoh, pretending that the agitation arose from idleness, ordered that the Hebrews should gather these for themselves, thus greatly increasing the labour of the already-overburdened bondsmen. In spite, however, of Pharaoh's cruelty and the undisguised hostility of their own people, the brothers persevered, working miracles in the presence of the king as signs of their divine mission. The Egyptian priests, who were clever conjurers, imitated their feats for a time, and Pharaoh was unimpressed, but when they began to take the form of plagues he wavered and tried to make terms. At first he would permit them to sacrifice to their God "in the land"; then they might go if they would "not go very far away"; then the men might go "and serve the Lord"; and at last they might go if they would leave their cattle behind. But Moses refused to compromise, nothing less than the unconditional emancipation of the people could be considered.

At length the crisis came, and God announced to Moses that He would bring one plague more upon Egypt—a plague so terrible that after it Pharaoh would eagerly thrust them out of the land.

"All the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill; and all the first-born of beasts.

"And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more."

That night, with their loins girded, shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands, the Hebrews stood alert, partaking of the feast which from that day to this has been a memorial

of the great occasion. In the night the awful stroke fell upon Egypt. None were spared. In palace and in dungeon the first-born died. And in the darkness, amidst the clamour and wailing of his people, Pharaoh arose and calling for Moses and Aaron entreated them in God's name to begone.

Three kings succeeded Ramses II., *viz.*, Merenptah, Seti II., and Si-Ptah, their united reigns only covering a period of thirty or forty years at most, after which there was a time of anarchy, followed by the rise of the twentieth dynasty.

The Exodus probably took place in the reign of Merenptah, the immediate successor of Ramses, and though authorities differ as to the precise date it is now brought within comparatively narrow limits.

Circa 1200. There is much doubt about the number of Hebrews who left Egypt. It is given as "600,000 men," and if the word men means grown males, the number of Hebrews would have been about 2,000,000, but this seems inconceivable. There are so many difficulties in connection with the translation of Hebrew numbers that the question cannot be decided at present in a satisfactory way. Professor Sayce thinks the traditional number of 600,000 may have "represented the whole body of fugitives".

The nearest way to Canaan was by the coast, but this district was the scene of much fighting between the Philistines and Egyptians, and there were Egyptian garrisons there, so that Moses led the people by a quieter way, from Ramses to Succoth, and from Succoth to Etham, one of the fortresses which protected the Asiatic frontier of Egypt. Here they turned in a southerly direction, and still keeping within the Egyptian wall of fortification encamped at Pi-hahiroth near the extremity of the Gulf of Suez, which being enclosed by Egyptian territory on both sides was called the Egyptian Sea. By this time Pharaoh's panic had subsided, and, angry at the loss of his serfs, he determined to pursue. They were still within the line of fortification, and, from the position they occupied, seemed entirely at his mercy. Accordingly a force

of cavalry composed probably of the body guard, the *élite* of the Egyptian army, was quickly on their track, and the terrified Hebrews heaped reproaches on their leader. "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?"

But Moses believed in God, and his faith was justified. In the night a strong east wind blew, driving back the shallow waters of the sea, and leaving a passage through which the people crossed in safety. Seeing their prey about to escape the Egyptians followed, but it was too late. Their chariots stuck in the wet sand, the wind fell, the sea rushed back, and they all perished in the waters.

This disaster to the Egyptian army is not entirely without parallel. Those accustomed to flat sands and high tides know how dangerous they are. When Artaxerxes invaded Egypt with a Persian army, he lost part of it in a similar way, and Napoleon Buonaparte narrowly escaped like peril in the same region.

The Hebrews now no longer feared pursuit, but they were not yet outside Egyptian territory. From early times the Sinaitic peninsula was held more or less effectively by Egypt, and the belief that the Hebrews after thus escaping ran into further danger by wandering amongst the mines and garrisons of this barren peninsula, though still held by some authorities, seems both unreasonable and out of harmony with the Biblical narrative. After they had crossed the sea and passed the fortifications, it is more likely that Moses led the people due east to the extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, where they were beyond Egyptian influence, and in a hospitable region lying between Edom and Midian. From these tribes they had reason to expect friendly succour, for the Edomites claimed descent from Abraham, and Moses had lived many years amongst the Midianites, and was married to the daughter of their prince.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NATION FORMED.

WHILST marching northwards from Akaba they were attacked by Amalekites and had to fight hard; but, under the leadership of Joshua, they were victorious. Shortly after, Jethro, the prince of Midian, visited the camp, and advised his son-in-law concerning the organisation of the new community. After this they were gathered at Sinai—a mountain which some think to have been in the mountains of Seir, and others believe to have been in the barren peninsula which bears its name.

Professor Sayce says that the belief that the Sinaitic peninsula was the scene of the wanderings of the Hebrews is "not only irreconcilable with the facts of Egyptian history but also with the narrative of the Pentateuch itself. It transports the Amalekites or Bedouin of the desert south of Judah to the western side of the Sinaitic peninsula, and performs the same feat for the wilderness of Paran. It makes Jethro, the high priest of Midian, cross the Gulf of Akaba, and make his way through barren gorges and hostile tribes in order to visit his son-in-law, and sets at defiance the express testimony of Hebrew literature that Mount Sinai was among the mountains of Seir."

"Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.

"The mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel."

If this opinion is correct, the Hebrews camped in the fertile

valleys of a great mountain range hidden away from the Egyptians, protected by their numbers and by the prestige arising from their success over the Amalekites: dwelling safely and receiving instructions concerning both moral and ceremonial law.

The central thought round which the law clustered was the recognition of Jehovah, the one God, as head of their state, leader, lawgiver and Supreme Court of Appeal. Idolatry was to be mercilessly crushed out from amongst them; and, that this might be done effectively, the Canaanites were to be expelled from the land. Subsequent events showed the wisdom of this injunction, for the Canaanites, who were given up to polytheism and immorality, were only partially expelled, and through their influence the Hebrews fell again and again into apostasy, thus poisoning, by neglect of this command, their whole national life.

Politically the government was republican in form, somewhat comparable to that of the United States. The law was a written constitution, a federal and unalterable compact between the tribes. Subject to this each tribe enjoyed independence, and was governed by its own head men—but all united for national defence, and they had generally a common president.

The Hebrews were never to forget that they were brethren; there must be no oppression and no hopeless poverty. The land was to be fairly divided, each family having its share. If a man fell upon evil times, he might pledge his land; if he were very poor, he might pledge himself or his children, and thus secure at least food and shelter; but periodically there was to be a jubilee, and land and freedom were to be restored.

Sanitary rules were laid down with an amount of detail which can only be appreciated when we remember the circumstances of the time, and the extraordinary precautions necessary to prevent the breaking out of disease, where so many were gathered together in a hot climate.

The injunctions with regard to punishment for crime were

severe, and show that crimes of violence were prevalent amongst the Hebrews. The long servitude in Egypt, during which they had little or no status before the courts of justice, led to their taking the law into their own hand, and the vendetta was customary amongst them. The Mosaic law substituted judicial authority for private vengeance, and in the permanent settlement of the country, cities of refuge were provided to which one who had unwittingly slain another might flee from "the avenger of blood".

Much in the law was peculiarly tender and kind. The treatment of the poor was considerate. They might glean and gather here and there, and in so fertile a land as Canaan could scarcely starve. Nor were the dumb animals forgotten. The ox was not to be muzzled as it trod the corn, but was to eat its fill; beasts of unequal strength were not to be yoked together; and in birdnesting, if the young birds were taken the old were to be spared.

What could be more suggestive of humanity than the following?

"When ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest, and thou shalt not glean thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger.

"Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, the wage of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind, but shalt fear thy God; I am the Lord.

"Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment; thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty: in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour."

Whilst Moses was absent in the mount receiving the law, the people, fancying that he had either perished or abandoned them, became unmanageable, and forgetting Jehovah, slid back to the idolatry of Egypt. Aaron, unable to control, humoured them by letting them make and worship an image

of gold, but in the midst of the degrading festival Moses returned. In fierce anger he called upon those who were on the Lord's side to rally round him, and when his own tribe, the tribe of Levi, obeyed the summons, he ordered them to do execution amongst the idolaters. The faithfulness of his tribe at this juncture was not forgotten; and, shortly after, when it became necessary to single out a tribe for the service of the sanctuary, Levi was chosen.

Though the service of the sanctuary was the primary work of the Levites, they had many other duties. As the Hebrews lived by agriculture, and had little time for more than daily routine, it was desirable that a certain number should be free for more liberal pursuits, and the tribe of Levi was utilised for this also. The Levites, therefore, were not only the priests but also the judges, scribes and registrars. From their ranks came the officials, from the highest to the lowest; the high priest and the superintendents of markets, the physician and the scavenger were alike Levites. An equitable arrangement was made for their remuneration. Though they did not as a tribe receive a specific inheritance when the country was divided, they were allotted certain cities for residence, and tithes and fees of various sorts. These must have amounted to a considerable sum, but when the expensive nature of the worship is considered, the Levites probably did not receive more than a fair equivalent for the absence of the landed property which the others enjoyed.

The law having been laid down and the people organised, they marched to Kadesh-Barnea, a city on the border of Canaan, whence deputies were sent from the tribes to reconnoitre. On their return, ten of the twelve who had been sent, though they reported favourably as regarded the land, declared that the inhabitants were too strong to be dispossessed, and only Caleb and Joshua advised going forward. The people were panic stricken, and refused to listen to the two brave men, who, indeed, narrowly escaped being stoned.

In judging the Hebrews it must be remembered that they

had been in bondage for generations, that they were without military skill, largely without arms, and had only once seen war. With strong religious faith they might have surmounted even these difficulties, but they lacked faith also. Evidently they were not fit to face the conquest, and Moses declared that it must be deferred until a braver generation had arisen.

Dismayed at the alternative, the people now regretted their cowardice, and determined to attempt the invasion after all. In spite therefore of Moses' express prohibition, a number of them penetrated into Canaan, but they were defeated and driven back with great slaughter, after which they accepted the inevitable.

We do not know how long it was before they again advanced. The expression, "forty years," so often used in Scripture, means vaguely a good long while, and is rarely to be taken as a precise figure. But whatever the time may have been, it was not spent, as has been often imagined, in a barren desert, but in an open country, where the people found plenty of pasture for their flocks and lived in comfort until those whose spirit had been broken by Egyptian bondage had passed away, and a new and hardy generation had grown up amongst the mountains well fitted for the work which lay before them.

When the march towards the land of promise was resumed, of the three who had been chiefly instrumental in leading the people out of Egypt, Aaron and Miriam were dead, Moses was old, and the leadership was passing into the hands of Joshua, his nominated successor.

In approaching Canaan for the second time it was determined to avoid the southern frontier, and to enter at the north end of the Dead Sea. The shortest way to reach this point was through the land of Edom, and Moses asked permission from the king of Edom to take this route, reminding him of the relationship which existed between the descendants of Jacob and Esau; but he refused, fearing to admit so vast a throng of people within his territory. Very reluctantly,

therefore, the Hebrews had to retrace their steps and march round his borders, southward to Akaba, and then, turning northward again, approach the promised land.

Decisive contests with the Amorites and the king of Bashan soon made them masters of the eastern bank of the Jordan, and at last they pitched their camp in the plains of Moab over against Jericho. Balak, king of Moab, alarmed at the progress of the Hebrews and seeing no hope of successful resistance by arms, had recourse, after consultation with the Midianites, to supernatural agency. He sent for Balaam, a man from Pethor on the river Euphrates, who had a high reputation as a prophet, in the hope that his curses, if they did not bring a blight upon the Hebrews, might at any rate encourage his own warriors to resist them. Balaam came, induced by the reward offered, but, terrified by portents on his journey, he became the unwilling mouthpiece of the Spirit of God, and the curses which he had been hired to utter turned to blessings in his mouth. His evil heart, however, suggested to him that if the Hebrews could be tempted to commit sin they would lose the favour of God, and he advised the Midianites to conquer them thus. The method succeeded only too well; but, disastrous as the result was to the Hebrews, the tempters also suffered, for a massacre of the tribes was ordered, and in the massacre Balaam fell.

The country on the eastern side of the Jordan being now conquered, the tribes of Reuben and Gad asked permission to settle there, and Moses agreed on condition that they should first help their brethren to conquer the land beyond. To this they willingly acceded, upon which the territory east of the Jordan was divided between them and the half tribe of Manasseh.

Moses was now aged and the time approached when he must die. He found the Hebrews slaves: he had made them a free people, had given them laws, brought them to the boundary of the promised land and fitted them for its conquest. Before he passed away he appointed Joshua as his successor,

and then gathering the people together he gave them his farewell blessing.

"There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun, who rideth upon the heaven in thy help, and in His excellency on the sky. The eternal God is thy refuge and underneath are the everlasting arms.

"Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord."

After this Moses ascended to the top of Pisgah where he had a wide and uninterrupted view of the land which the Lord, in accordance with His covenant with Abraham, was about to bestow upon his seed. And from Pisgah, in solitary grandeur, this meekest of men, who nevertheless became the greatest of prophets, leaders and lawgivers, passed to his covenant-keeping God.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROMISED LAND.

JOSHUA, so long the lieutenant of Moses, now succeeded him as leader, and the people prepared to invade. They were encamped on the eastern side of the Jordan opposite Jericho, a city the reduction of which was clearly the first work to be done. The army accordingly crossed the Jordan as they had crossed the Egyptian Sea, dry shod. The same kind of thing happened in the year A.D. 1267, when the waters of the Jordan, blocked by a landslip, ceased to flow long enough to permit of a bridge being repaired.

Jericho soon fell, and the way into Canaan lay open. The next effort, that against Ai, was not so fortunate, but the second attempt proved successful. The failure of the first attack was attributed to the wrong doing of Achan, who had, against express command, secreted valuable spoil, including "a goodly Babylonish garment". This apparently trifling incident touches the history of Babylon in an interesting way. For centuries the fabrics of Babylon had been famous, her merchants having traded freely with Canaan before the days of Abraham. About the time of the Exodus, Assyria was rising into power, and whilst Joshua was occupying Canaan, Babylon was being conquered by Assyria.

When encamped at Gilgal the Hebrews were outwitted by the Gibeonites, a neighbouring tribe, who induced them to make alliance by pretending that their territory lay a long way off. It is to the credit of the Hebrews that they held the treaty sacred after the fraud had been discovered.

The alliance with the Gibeonites hastened the conquest

of Palestine in an unexpected way, for the princes of the south, led by Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, enraged because the Gibeonites had made treaty with the invaders, attacked them, and Joshua coming loyally to the help of his allies, routed the confederacy.

The manner in which this triumph is recorded has given rise to much discussion. Joshua is said to have prayed that the sun and the moon might stand still until the battle was finished, and his prayer was answered. The passage is a quotation from a collection of Hebrew poems called the *Book of Jashar*, and there is no need to contend for the literal interpretation of what is professedly poetry. Joshua undoubtedly prayed that the day might not close until the Hebrews had vanquished their enemies, his prayer was answered, and the victory is described in the daring imagery so common to Hebrew poetry.

The defeat of the southern princes alarmed those in the north, and another powerful confederation was formed against the Hebrews, but this also was overthrown at the waters of Merom.

The brunt of the fighting was now over, and the Hebrews had made good their footing in Canaan, but the country was not wholly reduced, for many cities were still occupied by the Canaanites. It was not until the days of King David that the work was brought to a conclusion, when Jerusalem was added to the list of conquered cities and became the capital. The original inhabitants were never really thrust out—the Hebrews merely settled amongst them. Perhaps Moses made a mistake in allowing some of the Hebrews to dwell on the eastern side of the Jordan, for, had all come across, more room would have been necessary, and fewer of the inhabitants could have remained. Those who were left in Canaan were a curse to the Hebrews there, whilst the Hebrews who dwelt east of the Jordan lost their spirituality, and became little better than the heathen who surrounded them.

Amongst the cities captured by Joshua was Lachish, the

site of which has been recently discovered. Amongst the Tel el-Amarna tablets, letters have been found from the governors of Lachish to Pharaoh, written before the Exodus. Lachish was then an important stronghold in Southern Palestine, but the Hebrews destroyed it, and for many years it lay desolate.

Though the conquest of Canaan was still incomplete, the victories obtained by Joshua had given the Hebrews so firm a footing that he could allot to each tribe its portion, and the land was equitably distributed in proportion to the number of families.

It is interesting to notice how remarkably the way had been prepared for the Hebrews. At the time of the Exodus, Egypt was decaying and had lost all control in Asia, so that the Hebrews were able to make good their escape in a way which would have been impossible even a few years earlier. Afterwards, when they were securely hidden in the mountains of Seir, Canaan was overrun by tribes who aimed at the conquest of Egypt, and Ramses III., in destroying these, himself invaded Canaan and reduced many of its cities. And finally, when the way had been thus cleared for the Hebrews and they were ready to take possession, the Egyptian monarchy once more fell into decay.

Joshua was now an old man, and his hour of departure was at hand. After the battle of Ai he had gathered the Hebrews together and read the law, the people responding in blessings and cursings from the slopes of Ebal and Gerizim. Now again in his last days he summoned the leaders, and after reminding them of the mercies which they had enjoyed, adjured them to serve the Lord, and the people, touched by his impressive words, made fair promises.

"The Lord our God will we serve, and unto His voice will we hearken."

For a time all went well. "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord that He had done for Israel."

CHAPTER VI.

THE JUDGES.

THE period of the Judges presents much chronological difficulty. Formerly it was assumed that the persons mentioned ruled over the whole country, and, by adding their years of office together, the period stretched to more than three centuries, and the time of the Exodus was thrust back. It is now considered probable that the Exodus took place between 1250 and 1200, so that the time between the death of Joshua and the establishment of the monarchy could not have been more than a century and a half. The explanation is simple. After the death of Joshua there ceased to be a central authority. The tribes had settled in their allotted possessions, but the Canaanites were still in the land, and the condition of the Hebrews varied according to the circumstances of the locality. In some parts of the country they were all-powerful and lived in peace, in other parts they were amongst enemies more numerous than themselves. The result was frequent war, and from time to time, as the emergency arose, local leaders and deliverers appeared at the same time in different parts of the land.

The earliest serious trouble of the Hebrews was with a foreign foe. Scarcely was Joshua dead when Chushan-rishathaim, king of Naharaim, a province on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, overran the country as far as the southern frontier of Palestine, with such effect that the Hebrews, as well as those whom they had dispossessed, were under his sway for eight years. From this enemy they were delivered by Othniel, and as he was the brother of Caleb we

know that these events must have happened shortly after the occupation of Palestine.

After Othniel's death, Eglon, king of Moab, laid the Hebrews under tribute for eighteen years, when he was assassinated by Ehud.

In the south there were many troubles with the Philistines, a hardy race of pirates from Crete. These had made common cause with the tribes, who, in the reign of Ramses III., had attempted to invade Egypt, and they had made good their footing on the mainland. They now occupied the southern coast of Canaan, holding the important cities of Ashdod, Askelon, Ekron, Gaza and Gath, and giving their name to the whole country. The Philistines were great fighters, and a sharp thorn in the side of the Hebrews—sallying from their strongholds on the coast, and raiding the districts where the Hebrews were settled. Doubtless their numbers were often replenished from Crete and other islands of the Mediterranean, and they were not finally vanquished until the reign of King David.

In the north the Canaanites under Jabin, king of Hazor, "mightily oppressed the Children of Israel".

> "Untrodden were the highways,
> Through the winding by-path stole the traveller;
> Upon the plains deserted lay the hamlets."

At last Deborah arose, a woman of rare determination of character. Perceiving that the time had come for striking a blow for freedom, she persuaded Barak, a brave man and popular leader, to put himself at the head of such of the people as assembled on Mount Tabor in answer to their summons.

Sisera, a confederate of Jabin and leader of the oppression, brought a great army to crush the Hebrews, but in the battle which followed he was defeated and slain. The "Song of Deborah," composed in honour of this victory, is one of the most ancient and finest pieces of poetry extant.

After this the land had rest for a time, and then the

Bedouin of Midian and Amalek swept it year after year, destroying the crops and driving the terrified people to the mountains and caves.

Gideon, a member of the tribe of Manasseh, now came forward, and the people rallied in considerable numbers to his standard. It was God's will, however, that the victory should be gained by a few, and the numbers were reduced until only 300 chosen warriors remained. With these Gideon made a night attack of a most striking character. Each man was provided with a trumpet and a clay pitcher held upside down to conceal a lighted torch. The camp was silently approached on three sides, and then at a given signal the trumpets were blown, the pitchers thrown on the ground, and the torches brandished aloft. The din of 300 trumpets, the shouts of the men and the flaring of the torches breaking suddenly upon the darkness and silence of the night produced an extraordinary panic. The Arab horses dashed about in terror, the tribes fled or fell upon one another in wild confusion, and, utterly routed, were pursued and cut to pieces by the rest of Gideon's army. This victory made such an impression upon the Hebrews that they offered Gideon the title of king, but he refused, subordinating personal ambition to a sense of what was due to the sovereignty of Jehovah: "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you".

After Gideon's death, however, Abimelech, one of his sons, seized the crown and was at first supported by the men of Shechem, but they soon tired of him. He was slain, and thus ended the first attempt to establish monarchy amongst the Hebrews.

The next leader of importance was Jephthah, a Gileadite, who was victorious over the Ammonites. Before sallying forth he rashly vowed that if he returned victorious he would sacrifice whatsoever came out of his house to meet him. The first to meet him was his daughter.

Samson, of the tribe of Dan, was the next national hero, a

man in whom strength and weakness, wisdom and folly, were strangely blended. After giving the Philistines abundant trouble, he fell a victim to the wiles of a woman, and at length, blinded and an object of sport to his captors, he died, but not ingloriously.

1100. There dwelt at Shiloh in Ephraim a priest named Eli, in whose hands there was something like a concentration of civil and religious authority. Eli ruled well, but he was aged, and his sons who acted under him were licentious and corrupt. During one of the wars with the Philistines the Hebrews carried the ark with them into the battle, hoping thus to ensure God's presence on their side. His favour being denied, they were defeated, the sons of Eli were slain, the ark taken; and when Eli heard the terrible news the shock killed him.

The case of the Israelites now appeared desperate, for they were defeated, and apparently abandoned by God, so that nothing seemed left for them but unconditional surrender, yet at that moment of hopelessness their country was nearing the period of its greatest splendour.

1080. When Eli died, there was in the temple a boy of eight years of age named Samuel. He had already received proofs of God's favour, though his early memories were necessarily associated with the terrible defeat of his countrymen and the capture of the ark of the Lord. The Philistines, finding that the presence of the ark brought disaster, soon returned the sacred symbol, but nevertheless continued to tyrannise over the Hebrews. They were disarmed, and, lest new weapons should be made, the smiths' shops were closed, so that if a Hebrew wanted his plough mended he must go to a Philistine smithy. As Samuel grew older he had a great and wholesome influence over the people, and a national reformation was set on foot. The centre for religious gatherings had hitherto been at Shiloh, but as this city was destroyed, and the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, Samuel gathered the people to Mizpeh for such public worship as was possible under the reign of terror. On one occasion during worship the Hebrews were attacked

by the Philistines, but, encouraged by a thunderstorm which beat in the face of their enemies, they turned upon them and were victorious, pursuing them for a considerable distance. This unexpected defeat and the attendant circumstances impressed the Philistines, and they did not again attack Mizpeh.

It now became evident to the Hebrews that there could be no real improvement in the country without a change in the method of government. Samuel did his best, and his character was without reproach, but he was no warrior, and the people saw that they must have a military leader as king. Accordingly an assembly was held, and a monarchy having been decided on, the choice of king was left to Samuel. His choice fell upon Saul, a man possessed of many kingly qualities, who soon showed his worth. The Ammonites were besieging Jabesh Gilead, and the citizens, at their last extremity, pleaded for help. Saul summoned the people, and marched against the Ammonites, defeating them and saving the city, after which the wisdom of Samuel's choice was acknowledged, and Saul was accepted loyally as king. The inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead never forgot what they owed to him, and years after, when he and his sons had been slain on Mount Gilboa, and their bodies had been nailed to the walls of Bethshan, the men of Jabesh Gilead arose by night, took down the bodies and gave them respectful burial.

TABLE OF THE KINGS.

1. The Founders of the Empire.

Saul *circa* 1020.
David *circa* 1000.
Solomon *circa* 960.

2. The Divided Monarchy.

JUDAH.		ISRAEL.	
932	Rehoboam.	Jeroboam I	932
915	Abijam.		
912	Asa.	Nadab	910
		Baasha	908
		Elah	884
		Zimri	882
		Omri	882
871	Jehoshaphat.	Ahab	874
		Ahaziah	852
		Joram	850
846	Jehoram.		
842	Ahaziah.		
842	Athaliah.	Jehu	842
837	Joash.		
		Jehoahaz	814
797	Amaziah.	Jehoash	798
		Jeroboam II	783
768	Uzziah.		
		Zechariah	742
		Shallum	741
		Menahem	741
736	Jotham.		
734	Ahaz.	Pekahiah	737
		Pekah	736
727	Hezekiah.	Hoshea	730
		Samaria captured and kingdom ended by Sargon.	722
697	Manasseh.		
642	Amon.		
640	Josiah.		
608	Jehoahaz.		
608	Jehoiakim.		
597	Jehoiachin.		
597	Zedekiah.		
588	Jerusalem captured and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar.		

Based upon Sayce, *Early Israel*, 1899.

CHAPTER VII.

SAUL.

When Saul ascended the throne he was no longer young, for his son Jonathan had grown to manhood. The prowess displayed by the king at Jabesh Gilead, and the feats of arms performed by Jonathan, so alarmed the Philistines, that they gathered in great numbers to battle, whilst Saul's best efforts could raise but a handful of men. Jonathan's courage, however, delivered the Hebrews from an apparently hopeless position. Climbing with his armour-bearer into a Philistine stronghold and taking them by surprise, he slew about twenty men and created a panic amongst the rest. Saul perceived the confusion from the Hebrew camp, and quickly crossing fell upon the enemy who fled precipitately. This success so emboldened the Hebrews that many who, either from despair or compulsion, had gone over to the side of the Philistines, now returned to their allegiance. *Circa* 1020.

The king took advantage of this enthusiasm to subdue the Amalekites, who, since the Hebrews entered Canaan, had scarcely ceased from harassing them, dashing in from the desert on horses and camels and ravaging the land—the Hebrews from lack of cavalry being at their mercy. Saul determined to destroy the hornets' nest, and at the head of a powerful force chased the Amalekites to their desert homes, and from fastness to fastness so vigorously that they ceased for a long time to give trouble.

Saul's reputation was now well established, and it might have been expected that he would reign prosperously. But

for various reasons he was not a success. Samuel did not act kindly towards him, doubtless regarding him with jealousy, and Saul was hindered rather than helped by the priesthood. Beside this there was a strangeness about him which increased as he grew older. There were times when he was morose even to madness, and there may have been insanity in his family. Yet there was much in him to command admiration. He continued to live his simple life, he built no palaces, nor were his people oppressed that he might have greater glory. And we cannot forget that with all his faults he retained to the end the affection of his son Jonathan, one of the noblest heroes of Hebrew history.

As time went on the irrepressible Philistines again invaded Judah, encamping on one side of the valley of Elah whilst the Hebrews lay on the other. There was in the army of the Philistines a man of huge stature, named Goliath, who advanced from the ranks daily and challenged any Hebrew to single combat. When for several days none had been found willing to face him, a young Bethlehemite volunteered—David, the son of Jesse. Though the ruddy youth had only a sling, his chances were better than might at first sight appear, for the eastern sling is often made on the principle of the bow and has at short range such precision that a marksman can bring down a bird on the wing. On the other hand Goliath's weapons were only of use at close quarters, and the heaviness of his armour, preventing rapid movement, made David's task comparatively easy. After mutual defiance in true Oriental fashion, David rushed forward, and Goliath fell with a pebble in his brain. This unexpected termination of the duel filled the Hebrews with valour and the Philistines with dismay, and the latter were chased to the gates of Ekron.

After this feat David became a member of Saul's body-guard and later one of his generals and his son-in-law. But the popularity of the young hero with the people vexed the king, and during his fits of depression he sought his life.

David, despairing of winning back his confidence, fled, and after sheltering for a time amongst the Philistines took to the mountains and dwelt in the caves of Adullam, near Bethlehem, where his boyhood had been spent. Here he was joined by his relatives and by men who were in trouble, until at last he had 600 outlaws under his command.

Poor Saul went from bad to worse. He massacred eighty-five priests because Ahimelech the priest had succoured David on his flight. He chased David on the mountains so recklessly that his own life lay twice at David's mercy. Yet every now and then the king's better nature asserted itself, and Jonathan's conduct was always noble.

At length the end drew near. The Philistines combined to make a supreme effort and mustered in force on the southern slope of Gilboa—the Hebrews pitching their camp a few miles away. A presentiment of evil took hold of Saul. Samuel was dead, the priests had deserted him, and he could obtain no sign from God, so he resorted to witchcraft in his despair. Accompanied, tradition says, by Abner and Amasa, he went by night to a supposed witch at Endor, and learned that on the morrow he must die.

Next day a terrible battle was fought. The Hebrews were routed, Saul's sons fell fighting valiantly around their father, and the king himself, sorely wounded and in imminent risk of capture, fell upon his sword—his faithful armour-bearer following his example and dying at his side.

Meanwhile David had passed through a strange experience. Hopeless of permanent success against Saul he had offered his services to Achish, the Philistine king, who had gladly given him and his followers an honourable place in the army and the city of Ziklag for residence. When Achish marched against Saul, David and his band went as auxiliaries and would doubtless have fought had they been permitted, although we may be sure that Saul and his sons would have been sacred in their sight. David was, however, saved from this unpatriotic position by the Philistine chiefs, who, dreading

lest he might turn upon them on the field of battle, persuaded Achish to send him back.

When David reached Ziklag he found that it had been raided by the Amalekites and burned to the ground, all the women having been carried away captive. A mutiny arose amongst the desperate men and they talked of stoning David, but he pacified them, and they started in pursuit. By good fortune they found an Egyptian slave who, having fallen ill on the road, had been left at the wayside by his master to perish. With his guidance the Bedouin were overtaken and surprised in the midst of revelry, so that no resistance was possible; and with the exception of 400 young men who fled upon camels, all were slain. The captives and spoil were recovered and much besides, for the storming of Ziklag had only been the final incident in the Amalekite raid.

Two days after David's return to Ziklag he heard the sad news about the battle of Gilboa. The intelligence was brought to him by an Amalekite who pretended that he himself had slain Saul, thinking that the information would gratify David and ensure a reward. But David was too noble to feel anything but horror that an Amalekite should dare to lay violent hands upon the anointed king of Israel, and this man's story cost him his life.

"The Song of the Bow" with which David commemorated the sad ending of Saul and Jonathan is amongst the most touching of elegies.

> Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places!
> How are the mighty fallen!
> . . . . . .
> Tell it not in Gath,
> Publish it not in the streets of Askelon;
> Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
> Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.
> . . . . . .
> Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
> And in their death they were not divided;
> They were swifter than eagles,
> They were stronger than lions.
> . . . . . .

I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.
How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!

CHAPTER VIII.

DAVID.

Circa 1000. DAVID was now the most suitable king for the Hebrews. True, Saul had left a son, Esh-Baal, but he was a man of little capacity, and in early times kingship did not pass by primogeniture—the best man in the royal house being generally chosen. David was the king's son-in-law, a national hero, and captain of an armed force, and when he marched to Hebron he was at once chosen as king by the tribe of Judah. But the rest of the tribes clave to the house of Saul, and a stand was made on behalf of Esh-Baal (Ishbosheth) by Abner, Saul's commander-in-chief, who with the remnant of the army had escaped across Jordan. A long war ensued, but David was surrounded by mighty men on whose faithfulness he could implicitly rely, and his power increased daily whilst that of Esh-Baal waned. At last Abner quarrelled with his master, and endeavoured to come to terms with David, offering to bring over all Israel to him on condition of being made commander-in-chief. But Joab, David's nephew, who filled that post, assassinated Abner, and Esh-Baal was slain by his own servants not long after.

There remained now of Saul's house only Merib-Baal (Mephibosheth), the son of Jonathan, a cripple; and there was no longer any reason why the tribes which had not already come in should refuse to accept David's sovereignty. Accordingly Esh-Baal's supporters assembled at Hebron and David was crowned king of all Israel.

This new aspect of affairs alarmed the Philistines, and they determined to attack David before he could gather strength.

The attack was successful and David had to take to the mountains and hide once more in the caves which had served as a refuge from Saul. He carried on a guerilla warfare against the Philistines, gradually becoming more powerful until he felt strong enough to attack them in the field. Soon he was victorious, and, having driven them from Hebrew territory, he carried the war into Philistia itself, persevering until they were so fully subjugated that they acknowledged him as suzerain, the best of their warriors taking service in his body-guard.

About this time David besieged Jerusalem which, though an ancient city, had never been conquered by the Hebrews. It stood in the centre of the country, an impregnable Jebusite stronghold, threatening the unity of the kingdom. David resolved to capture it, but his summons to surrender was received with scornful taunts. Such was the strength of the fortress that the Jebusites boasted if only the blind and the lame remained to defend it, it would be safe. Notwithstanding its strength, however, it was captured, and from that time Jerusalem became the metropolis. Its position was superb. It was 2,500 feet above sea level, central yet secluded, reached only by steep paths and easily-guarded passes. Though often besieged it always offered a stout resistance; and in the end had usually to be taken by bribery or stratagem. David built a palace for himself at Jerusalem, and would gladly have built a temple there, desiring that the city should be not only the political but also the religious centre for the nation. But this laudable design was prevented by Nathan, the prophet, who told him that God had reserved for his son the honour of building the holy shrine.

David accordingly had to content himself with amassing material and treasure on a vast scale in order that his son's task might be facilitated.

As he was not allowed to build the temple, David prepared a pavilion for the ark (which had remained at Kirjath-jearim since its restoration by the Philistines in the days of Samuel), and brought it to Jerusalem amidst much rejoicing.

David was a poet and a musician of the highest order: he organised the worship of the sanctuary, and laid the foundation of the magnificent service of praise which was afterwards more fully developed when the temple was built by Solomon. It is interesting to reflect how much our religious service of to-day owes to this poet king.

David was successful against all his foreign enemies, bringing Philistines, Moabites and Ammonites under his sway. Moreover, when Syria and Damascus joined issue against him, although the war was prolonged, he was eventually successful—his garrisons being placed in Damascus and other northern towns, until all Syria, as far as the Euphrates, acknowledged his rule.

In the kingdom thus united and triumphant, wealth increased, commerce flourished and prosperity and contentment reigned.

Unfortunately, in the evening of life, David had to pass under a cloud. He committed gross sin, and, although he repented, the sin brought its penalty. He destroyed the home of another, and a blight fell upon his own. Amnon, his eldest son, wronged Absalom and was slain by him, and Absalom himself, his favourite son, banished, recalled and forgiven, at last basely rebelled. So popular was Absalom and so widespread the conspiracy against David that he fled with such as remained faithful to him across the Jordan. Fortunately Joab and other chief men stood firm, and Absalom weakly deferring attack until he had made a levy of the people, the king's friends had time to rally to his defence. In the hour of adversity David gave many signs of the true greatness of spirit which characterised him. When the priests would have brought the ark with them in the retreat he bade them carry it back to its accustomed place.

"If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, He will bring me again, and show me both it and its habitation: but if He thus say, I have no delight in thee; behold, here am I, let Him do to me as seemeth good unto Him."

When Shimei cursed him and threw stones at him, David would not suffer him to be touched.

"The Lord hath said unto him, curse David."

At last Absalom's levy was gathered and the armies joined battle. The rebel army was undisciplined and David had no anxiety about the result of the battle: all his anxiety was that his son's life should be spared. "Deal gently for my sake," he said, "with the young man." In spite of this pathetic injunction Joab slew Absalom, and though the action may have seemed politic, it was really cruel, and robbed David of all the joy of victory.

"O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!"

David could now return to Jerusalem without fear, but the manner of his returning raised dissension amongst the tribes. The elders of Judah came out to meet him, and the throng which brought him back was chiefly representative of Judah. The other tribes resented the action of Judah in thus forestalling them, bitter words passed, and Sheba, a Benjamite, headed another revolt. To make matters worse, David, exasperated with Joab for the death of Absalom, had superseded him and made Amasa, a less competent warrior, commander-in-chief. The army refused to follow Amasa, and Joab killed him and resumed his position—David not daring again to thrust him aside. Sheba's rebellion was now easily subdued, but Joab, in spite of his splendid services, had a terrible account to render for the slaughter of Abner, Absalom and Amasa.

In David's last years his kingdom was firmly established, and he had rest from his enemies. His life had been very chequered and he grew old before his time, but his worst troubles had been those of his own making.

He had chosen Solomon as his successor, and had chosen wisely, but towards the end of his reign Adonijah, an elder son, tried to seize the sceptre and was supported by Joab and Abiathar. David heard of the conspiracy in time and

ordered that Solomon should be immediately crowned, after which Adonijah's following melted away.

At last the great monarch passed to his rest. In his youth he had been the darling of the people, and in his riper years had done invaluable service to his country. Under Moses the Hebrews became a people, under Saul a nation, under David an empire. Many things might be said in his disparagement. The veracity of the sacred historian is testified by the impartiality with which he records the evil as well as the good. David was very human, and when tried by prosperity he was found wanting. Nevertheless with all his imperfections and even crimes, he often lived at a high spiritual level, and was a true servant of God. Whether we judge his sacred songs as regards their sublimity of language or loftiness of thought, they transcend all other sacred poetry, and their strains will never cease to vibrate in the human heart. Amongst Hebrews David stands second to Moses, but amongst men whose careers have inspired and whose words have drawn humanity Godward King David stands second to none.

CHAPTER IX.

SOLOMON.

SOLOMON, the son of Bathsheba, was twenty years old when he began to reign. The time of his accession was fortunate for a lover of peace. Babylon, Assyria and Egypt were weak, the surrounding peoples had been subdued by David, and no power was strong enough to dispute Solomon's supremacy. He was, therefore, at leisure to enjoy the magnificent inheritance which his father had bequeathed, to enlarge and embellish the capital, and to carry out the construction of the temple, the great task upon which his father had set his heart. *Circa* 960.

In this work he had the invaluable aid of Hiram, king of Tyre, a young man whose admiration for David was unbounded. The Hebrews were a simple agricultural people, possessing little artistic skill, while Hiram had among his Phœnician subjects highly-trained artificers, the best of whom were willingly placed at Solomon's disposal. Much of the material of the temple also came from Hiram's dominions, and in exchange for the labour and material thus ungrudgingly supplied, Solomon sent agricultural produce to Phœnicia.

It was determined to build the temple on Mount Moriah, a most imposing site, but one which entailed immense outlay in building up foundations from the valley, before enough area could be provided for the temple and courts. The precise design of the temple can only be guessed at, for the Bible is not explicit, and Josephus in his description mingles features from each of the three temples together.

The outer court, the part used for public ceremonies, was

large. The temple proper was small, but exquisitely built, and covered with plates of gold, which flashed in the sunlight and could be seen by approaching pilgrims when they were yet a long way off. The doors were of cedar, the curtains of fine linen dyed in bright colours and richly embroidered. Inside was the Holy Place, and within it the Holy of Holies.

In the outer court stood the brazen altar of sacrifice and the molten sea also of brass, forty-five feet in circumference, supported on twelve brazen oxen and provided with every appliance for the ablution of the priests.

The temple took seven years in building, every detail was perfect, and no expense was spared.

When finished, it was dedicated with a solemn festival which lasted for two weeks and drew a vast concourse from all parts of the country. From this time Jerusalem became the religious centre of the Jewish state, and the temple the one spot towards which every true Hebrew turned with longing eyes.

Solomon's building operations did not end with the temple. Jerusalem was fortified, magnificent palaces built, and the water and drainage works, so necessary in a city periodically crowded with visitors at the great feasts, were not forgotten.

In his early days Solomon paid close attention to the business of government and the country was well organised, being divided in Oriental fashion into provinces, over each of which a governor was placed who was responsible for taxes and internal administration. Solomon's alliance with Hiram was very advantageous to the nation. The Phœnicians were indefatigable traders and splendid seamen, whilst the Hebrews were almost without maritime experience. A trading partnership was therefore entered into between the kings, each having something to offer. Hiram had the port of Tyre with abundance of ships and seamen. Solomon had access to the Red Sea, controlled the caravan routes, and governed a country excellently situated as an emporium for trade between the three continents. Moreover, David had left vast wealth, and though

much of it had been spent unproductively, some of it was still available for trading. Accordingly the mercantile fleets of the young kings sailed far and wide—to India, to the Zambesi and to Spain; from every side produce was gathered and the fame of Solomon resounded through the Oriental world.

Nor was Solomon's reputation based upon wealth and commerce alone, for he had a fertile mind and an amount of knowledge which places him in the front rank, whether we speak of him as a poet, as an author of wise sayings, or as a naturalist, for "he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall; he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes".

Yet with all this wealth and all his wisdom Solomon's career was unhappy. The temptations that beset a king found in him an easy victim. His harem was on an unprecedented scale, and his wives, many of them heathen, stole his heart from God. As he grew older he became lax in religious matters, freely permitted idolatrous worship within his realm, and allowed the hills surrounding Jerusalem to be consecrated to heathen deities.

Towards the end of his reign his popularity waned. So long as anything remained of the store which David had accumulated, all went well, but when that was gone and money had to be found for the maintenance of gorgeous palaces and innumerable retainers, taxation became oppressive and the people discontented. It seems probable that the incidence of the taxes fell chiefly upon the northern tribes, and that Judah and Benjamin were lightly dealt with, if they did not escape taxation altogether, a state of things which must have seemed the more intolerable as the money was not spent where it was raised, but mainly for the benefit and glorification of the metropolis.

At length the discontent of the northern tribes found utterance through Ahijah and Jeroboam—the former being a prophet, the latter a man who had attracted the attention of

Solomon by his ability and diligence at fortification work. These plotted against the king, but the plot was discovered and Jeroboam fled to Egypt.

Now Solomon had married an Egyptian princess, and had been for a time on excellent terms with Egypt, but the dynasty into which he had married had been overthrown, and Shishak who now reigned had no favour for Solomon and was delighted to foment rebellion against him. Jeroboam was therefore well received and remained in Egypt biding his time.

Nor was it from the side of Egypt only that trouble loomed. Hadad, the Edomite, revolted and carried on a guerilla warfare, attacking the trade caravans that passed between Palestine and the Red Sea. Worse still, Rezon had founded a new kingdom in Damascus destined in later years to bring much trouble to the Hebrews. David and Joab would have given these troublesome spirits short shrift, but Solomon was no warrior, and was more solicitous of present ease than of the future prosperity of his kingdom.

At last he died, not much over fifty, having reigned about thirty years.

Solomon had marvellous chances. He succeeded to a wide empire, a great reputation and untold wealth. At first, moreover, he ran well, but the temptations incident to prosperity mastered him, and he spent his later years in sensuous indulgence. When he died, prematurely worn out, he left behind him an empty treasury, a rebellious people, and an empire ready to fall to pieces at the slightest touch.

The book of Ecclesiastes furnishes a melancholy commentary upon a life which began in glorious brightness and ended almost in despair. Yet the teaching of that book is pure and good, and if, as seems probable, Solomon wrote it towards the end of his life, it shows that at the last his heart came back to its early allegiance.

"Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man."

CHAPTER X.

A DIVIDED EMPIRE.

THERE is a glamour surrounding the name of Solomon which makes it hard to realise that during his later years his government was oppressive. The building of the temple was legitimate, especially as King David had made so much preparation for it, but the temple only inflamed Solomon's desire to build, and many pretexts were found for copying the example of the average Oriental monarch and wasting the resources of the country in senseless display. The consequence was that before his death discontent had arisen on every hand. Judah indeed showed no inclination to revolt, for she was loyal to the family from which she had gained so much material benefit, and through whom she had been raised to political supremacy, but the benefit and the uplifting had been at the expense of the northern tribes and these became jealous and discontented. Jeroboam, who had conspired with Ahijah during Solomon's life and been forced to fly to Egypt, now returned and became the mouthpiece of the disaffected.

Rehoboam, Solomon's son, was at once accepted as king by 932.
Judah, but it was necessary that he should obtain the allegiance of the northern tribes and he called an assembly together at Shechem for that purpose. The tribes seem to have had at first no desire to rebel, but hoped that the young king would be easily persuaded to right their grievances, which were certainly weighty.

"Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee."

Rehoboam should have answered so reasonable a petition without hesitation and with cordiality, but instead he took three days for its consideration and then answered like a fool. The young aristocrats by whom he was surrounded advised him to make no compromise and he took their advice. The result was disastrous.

"What portion have we in David? neither inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David."

Rehoboam doubted the seriousness of the revolt and sent an agent to collect the taxes as usual, but it cost the unfortunate man his life; and the king, fearing for his own safety, fled to Jerusalem.

The northern tribes now chose Jeroboam as their king, and thus by Rehoboam's folly the empire, which had been built up by David and had gained such dignity and glory from Solomon, was in a moment, and as it proved finally, dissolved.

Judging superficially it seemed as if Jeroboam ruling over ten tribes must be stronger than Rehoboam ruling over two, but Jeroboam had many difficulties to face. Though a capable man and likely to be a good ruler, his family lacked prestige, and it remained to be seen how long those who had made him king in a moment of enthusiasm would stand by him. Rehoboam had certainly shown himself most indiscreet, yet the memories that clustered round David and Solomon kept Judah faithful to their dynasty to the end. The kings of Israel never reached this enviable position. Their tenure of office depended on their individual prowess and on the faithfulness of their officers, and this often proved but a bruised reed, for out of nineteen kings who ruled over Israel eight were assassinated, and the dynasty was changed continually. Moreover, in comparing the relative strength of Judah and Israel, it must be remembered that Judah was homogeneous, encircling an almost impregnable capital of which all Hebrews were proud. The kingdom of Israel had as yet no rallying

point; it consisted of tribes, widely scattered and strangers to each other, having only the temporary bond of union caused by the knowledge of a common grievance. Judah's greatest advantage, however, lay in the possession of the national sanctuary. It is true that the temple had not yet gained the prominence which it acquired later, nevertheless a practice had begun of going up to Jerusalem at the feasts, and Jeroboam saw that if this continued his position would be endangered. Accordingly he established sanctuaries at Dan for the northern tribes, at Bethel for the tribes of the east and centre. In this there was no sin, for God had laid down no law restricting worship to Jerusalem. The temple worship was indeed comparatively modern, and until lately Shiloh had been more sacred than Jerusalem. But there was great sin in setting up calves of gold as symbols of Jehovah, and for this Jeroboam was justly condemned.

Rehoboam did not mean to relinquish his hold upon Israel without a struggle, and on his return to Jerusalem he levied an army, but was dissuaded by a prophet from making war. In the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, led 927.
his forces against Jerusalem. Possibly he did so at the request of Jeroboam, but this is not certain, as the record of the subsequent campaign which is engraved on the temple at Karnak contains amongst the names of conquered towns those of towns belonging to the northern kingdom. This does not prove much, however, for possibly these cities had refused to own Jeroboam as king, or their names may have been entered because Jeroboam in asking aid had acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty. In any case Judah suffered most, and Jerusalem above all. Shishak's army entered Judæa in three columns, and Rehoboam, quite unable to cope with him, ransomed his capital by emptying his treasury and stripping the temple. Shishak marched victoriously throughout the country, and after plundering 130 cities, many of which cannot have been more than mere villages, returned to Egypt with much spoil and great glory.

Shishak died soon after this invasion and for a while the kingdoms of Judah and Israel had rest from foreign foes, but between themselves there was no peace. Wherever borders marched there was fighting and raiding, while cattle-lifting, massacre and burning never ceased.

Rehoboam reigned for seventeen years and was succeeded
915. by Abijam, his son. The latter lost no time in attacking Jeroboam whom he defeated with great loss, capturing the city of
912. Bethel. Abijam only reigned two years and was followed by his son, Asa, who reigned forty-one years. About the
910. same time Jeroboam also died and was succeeded by Nadab,
908. who after reigning three years was assassinated by Baasha, his captain. Baasha became king with the support of the army, and attacked Judah vigorously, regaining all Jeroboam had lost, and so pressing Asa that he besought succour from Benhadad, king of Damascus.

Damascus was conquered by David, but in Solomon's time regained its independence through the energy of Rezon, and after the break-up of the Hebrew empire became once more a city of importance. Benhadad accordingly invaded Israel at Asa's entreaty, and quickly compelled Baasha to make terms and cease from troubling Judah.

884. Elah succeeded Baasha but was slain by Zimri, one of his captains, who hoped probably for the support of the soldiery, but he had overestimated his strength, for the army
882. would have none of him and elected Omri, their general, as king. Omri marched on Tirzah where Zimri dwelt, and the wretch, despairing of success, set fire to the palace and perished in its ruins.

At first Omri had a rival named Tibni, who was followed by half the tribes, and civil war raged in Israel for four years, but Tibni died, and Omri was accepted as king by all. He proved a capable monarch and his reign has this added interest that it is mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. So important indeed did the Assyrians consider him that they spoke of Israelitish kings as being of the house of Omri even after

the dynasty was extinct. And in an inscription of the reign of Shalmaneser II. when Jehu is described he is termed "Jehu the son of Omri," although it was Jehu himself who had exterminated the family.

Omri's rule was prosperous. Relations between Israel and Judah were friendly during his reign; he conquered Moab, imposing on it a heavy tribute in sheep and wool, and gave Israel a capital. Hitherto the kings of Israel had not ventured to found a metropolitan city, but had lived at Shechem, Penuel and Tirzah, but Omri picked out an eligible site and founded Samaria, fortifying it and building in it a palace and a temple, so that the Israelites had now a rallying point. Omri even ventured to cross swords with Benhadad, but was unsuccessful and had to make peace by surrendering cities in Gilead, and by setting apart a quarter in the city of Samaria where the Damascene merchants might trade.

It may have been Omri's want of success against Benhadad that led him to make alliance with Ethbaal, king of Sidon, marrying Ahab his son to Jezebel, the Sidonian princess.

Whilst these changes were going on in Israel the throne of Judah had been occupied by Asa, who became king of Judah shortly before the death of Jeroboam, king of Israel.

He was an excellent prince who favoured religion and discouraged idolatry with so much zeal that he even deposed Maachah, the queen dowager, from her position of supremacy in the royal household because of her idolatrous practices.

The result of Asa's excellent rule was speedily seen in an improved national tone. The army was strengthened and the cities fortified, and such was the spirit of the people that Asa shook off the yoke which Shishak had imposed on Rehoboam and re-established Judæan independence. The Egyptians did not submit to the loss of Judæa without an effort, and invaded Southern Judæa, but Asa encountered

them with such determination that they were defeated and did not trouble Judah again until the reign of Josiah.

It was strange that although Asa had been so successful against Egypt, he was afraid to stand alone against Israel, and had to ask help from Benhadad, who defeated Baasha as has been already mentioned.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DAYS OF ELIJAH.

AHAB, the son of Omri, was now king in Israel—his wife 874.
being Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Sidon. Ahab has a bad name, but was not utterly abandoned. Theoretically, at any rate, he clung to the worship of Jehovah, and showed a certain regard for His servants ; but his alliance with Jezebel, the Sidonian princess, was a cause of misery in Israel. Yet it is not fair to judge even Jezebel harshly. True she was cruel and unscrupulous enough, but we must remember that she had been trained as an idolater and surrounded in her father's palace by obsequious priests, so that she failed to understand either the spiritual worship of Jehovah or the rugged independence of his prophets. Her influence was, however, malign throughout. To gratify her, many innovations were made and idolatrous practices tolerated—temples being built in honour of Baal, and Jehovah's followers persecuted and even slain at her instigation.

At this period a new class of religious teachers had arisen amongst the prophets—men not necessarily endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the prophetic office but devoted to the service of God, preaching, prayer and the study of the Scriptures. They were not celibates, for the wives of the sons of the prophets are spoken of, but they seem to have lived in communities, and they were divided into schools, each showing reverence to a superior.

Though some of these prophets temporised, the majority stood up valiantly against Jezebel for the worship of Jehovah, and earnestly opposed the idolatrous practices which were

being introduced under her patronage. Filled with wrath the queen determined to root out the worship of Jehovah altogether; and, as a preliminary, massacred many of his prophets.

At this critical moment Elijah appeared upon the scene. Of his origin we know nothing, and only a few incidents of his life have come down to us, yet he has left a unique impression on history. He seems to have been a man of imposing presence, and he first appears entering, apparently unsummoned, into the presence of Ahab to announce the approach of a great drought as a punishment from God for the national apostasy. Having fulfilled this mission he disappeared from Ahab's presence as suddenly as he had come.

During the period of drought Elijah lived in seclusion at Sarepta, actually within the territory of Ethbaal, Jezebel's father. In the third year of drought Ahab, now greatly alarmed, went through the land with Obadiah, his chief minister, to see what measures could be adopted to save the cattle from destruction. On the way Elijah met him, and challenged him to test the merits of the rival faiths. Ahab accepted the challenge and next day, amidst a huge concourse of the people, Elijah faced with undaunted spirit 400 Phœnician priests. At his suggestion the prophets of Baal built an altar and laid a sacrifice thereon, but though they cried to their god all day, no fire came from heaven to consume it. When their efforts were evidently in vain, Elijah built his altar, and, when he had solemnly appealed to Jehovah for a response, fire at once flashed from heaven. The astonished people acknowledged the hand of God, and at Elijah's bidding the Phœnician prophets were slain, after which the drought ceased and abundant rain descended upon the land.

The massacre of the priests of Baal naturally enough exasperated Jezebel to madness, and she sent a threatening message to Elijah, who fled to Horeb despairing of life. Soon, however, his spirit was soothed by a vision of God, and he was ordered to return and to anoint Jehu as king

of Israel, Hazael as king of Syria, and Elisha as successor to himself.

Once again he appeared before Ahab, after Jezebel had murdered Naboth and stolen his vineyard, to warn him of the doom overshadowing his house. The king showed that he was not entirely reprobate, for his pride broke down, he put on sackcloth and the fierceness of God's anger was for the moment turned away.

Ahab was a warlike king. He kept Moab in subjection and Judah in check, and held his own against Damascus. Benhadad II. was now king there, and although he had not the ability of Benhadad I. he had considerable power. For some reason war arose between Damascus and Israel, and the Syrians laid siege to Samaria with so powerful an army that surrender was imminent. But being over-confident they became neglectful, and the garrison made a fortunate sortie and defeated them. This victory so encouraged the Israelites that when, next year, Benhadad resumed hostilities, they again defeated him and even made him prisoner, though Ahab, somewhat unwisely, set him free.

The reign of Ahab has a special interest arising from the fact that during it Israel came into contact with Assyria. This ancient power had been for a long time under a cloud, but was now embarking on a fresh career of conquest, and a monolith of Shalmaneser II. tells us that in a great battle fought by him at Karkar, 10,000 men belonging to Ahab of 853.
Israel took part. Benhadad II. was chief of the confederacy of which Ahab was a member; and, although Shalmaneser claimed the victory, the Assyrians suffered so severely that their advance was stayed.

The reign of Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa, over Judah was 871.
parallel with that of Ahab over Israel. Jehoshaphat reigned well and his kingdom prospered, but he made a mistake in marrying his son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, for alliance with such a family could only be productive of evil. It is possible that at this time Judah

acknowledged Ahab as suzerain; at all events Jehoshaphat paid him a visit, and was persuaded to help him in an endeavour to wrest Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians. The battle was most disastrous to the confederates, for Jehoshaphat narrowly escaped with his life and Ahab was slain.

852. Ahaziah succeeded Ahab, but died within two years from an accident, and was succeeded by his brother Joram. After Ahab's death the king of Moab had ceased to pay tribute, and Joram persuaded the kings of Judah and Edom to join him in a successful raid upon his revolted vassal.

Elisha, the successor of Elijah, comes into prominence just now with a fame only second to that of his master. His reputation, indeed, spread beyond the borders of Israel, and he was visited by Naaman, a Syrian general, whom he was instrumental in curing of leprosy. But this did not prevent Syria from warring against Israel, and Samaria was again so closely invested that capitulation seemed inevitable, when an inexplicable panic arose amongst the Syrians and they fled.

Afterwards Elisha travelled as far as Damascus, and Ben-hadad II., hearing of his proximity, and being sick, sent Hazael, his leading officer, to ask the prophet if he would recover from his sickness. Elisha looking on Hazael fixedly said that the disease was not mortal, yet the king would die, and by his answer and manner Hazael perceived that Elisha had read his heart and knew that he had determined to murder his master. Elisha's prediction was fulfilled—Hazael returned to Damascus, assassinated the king and seized the throne.

During the reign of Jehoshaphat over Judah the kingdom enjoyed some prosperity. Legal reforms were introduced, the country fortified and commerce advanced. The king even went so far as to build a fleet for the purpose of trading on the Red Sea, but it was wrecked.

846. Jehoshaphat was succeeded by Jehoram who reigned during a few stormy years. His wife Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, had an evil influence over him, and the worship

of Baal was established in Judah as it had already been in Israel. Many misfortunes followed this departure from God. First Edom revolted and Jehoram lost access to the Red Sea, after which the Arabians invaded Judæa, stormed and plundered the royal palace, and carried many away captive.

Jehoram died soon after, and was succeeded by Ahaziah, 842.
who reigned one eventful year over Judah. Ahaziah joined forces with Joram, king of Israel, in an attack upon Hazael, king of Damascus, for the purpose of recovering Ramoth-gilead. The battle went against the allies and Joram was carried wounded to Jezreel. Here Ahaziah visited him, and during the visit a revolt was raised against the wounded king by Jehu, his chief captain, who was crowned by the army and marched upon Jezreel. Joram, unaware of the revolution, but hearing of Jehu's approach, rose from his sick bed, and in company with Ahaziah, his guest, went out to meet Jehu, and asked him if the war was ended. The first words of his revolted captain undeceived him, and turning in flight, he was shot in the back, Ahaziah also being overtaken and slain.

Jehu now entered Jezreel in triumph, but Jezebel, the 842.
mother of the slain king, had yet to be reckoned with. Hearing the news and knowing what her end must be, she met it as befitted a queen. Dressed in her royal robes, with her hair adorned and her eyes painted in Eastern fashion, she sat on a balcony and as Jehu rode past hurled defiance at him:—

"Welcome to Zimri, the murderer of his master".

When Jehu raised his head and shouted: "Who is on my side?" two or three attendants looked out, and he cried: "Throw her down". He was instantly obeyed by her time-serving followers, and the queen was crushed to death under horses' hoofs and chariot-wheels. Afterwards, when feasting, he bade his servants bury her, "for she was a king's daughter," but they found only a few bones—the rest had been devoured by pariah dogs and jackals.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST DAYS OF ISRAEL.

HAVING begun thus, Jehu made a clean sweep of Ahab's family, and added a massacre of the priests of Baal, but it was less religious zeal than political expediency that prompted the murders, for Jehu was himself an idolater at heart and little better than the men he slew.

Meanwhile Judah also had seen its tragedy. When Athaliah, the mother of Ahaziah and daughter of Ahab and Jezebel,
842. heard that her son was slain, rather than that any one else should come between her and the throne she slew all the seed royal. Only one escaped, Joash, who was snatched from the cradle by his aunt, the wife of Jehoiada, the high priest, and reared secretly in the temple. When he was seven years of age, Athaliah's reign having now become obnoxious to the people, Jehoiada summoned the priests and chief men to the temple and exhibited Joash who was eagerly accepted as king. Athaliah, ignorant of what had transpired, but hearing the acclamations of the people entered the temple, then perceiving her danger fled, but was overtaken and slain.

837. Joash was but a child when he began to reign and so long as Jehoiada lived was wisely guided, but after this priest's death he fell off lamentably, and when Zechariah, Jehoiada's son, remonstrated and warned him of the fate which must overtake him if he forsook God, Joash had him murdered, in spite of all the kindness which his father had shown.

At this time Hazael was king of Damascus, and during the reign of Jehoahaz, who had succeeded Jehu as king of Israel, he had subdued Israel and robbed it of some of its

fairest provinces. Hazael then turned southward, and having captured Gath made as if he would attack Jerusalem. Joash, who was not a warlike king, bought him off with the treasures of the temple and the palace, but he did not long survive the disgrace, for a conspiracy was formed against him and he was murdered in the fortress of Millo—Amaziah his son reigning in his stead.

During the long reign of Joash in Judah, three kings had reigned in Israel: Jehu, Jehoahaz and Jehoash. The last named, who succeeded just before the death of Joash, king of Judah, 798.
encouraged by Elisha, then upon his death-bed, attacked the Syrians, and defeated them. Amaziah, the son of Joash, 797.
was also warlike and, when he had conquered the Edomites he rashly determined to cross swords with the king of Israel. But Jehoash was too strong for him, his army was routed, Jerusalem pillaged, the temple sacked, and the king himself captured. He was released, but shortly after was assassinated 768.
and succeeded by Uzziah his son. Uzziah proved a capable monarch, and reigned prosperously. He fortified Jerusalem and other cities of Judah, and built towers of defence throughout the country. He also encouraged the arts of peace—advancing agriculture by irrigation. Unfortunately, in the middle of his reign, he was smitten with leprosy, and had to depute the active duties of kingship to Jotham his son.

During this period both Judah and Israel were prosperous. Joash, the warlike king of Israel who defeated Amaziah, had 783.
been succeeded by Jeroboam II., under whom Israel regained something of its old position—its power extending across Jordan once more. This was partly owing to the weakness of Damascus, Israel's great rival, which had been subjugated by Assyria.

During the reign of Jeroboam II. Jonah is mentioned for the first time, and we are thus doubly reminded of the great power which had arisen in the east. Jonah's visit to Nineveh, however, occurred somewhat later, during the reign of Tiglath Pileser III.

After Jeroboam's death Israel fell into a state of anarchy, and two kings, Zechariah and Shallum, were murdered in quick succession.

741. Menahem followed, during whose reign Pul invaded
738. Israel, and Menahem had to buy him off with 1,000 talents of silver. The identity of Pul, the first Assyrian monarch mentioned in the Bible, was long a mystery, but it is now clear that he was none other than Tiglath-Pileser III. This king was a usurper and adopted the name of Tiglath-Pileser in Nineveh, but continued to be known widely by his original name of Pul.

737. Menahem was succeeded by Pekahiah his son, but after two years there was a mutiny, and Pekahiah was slain by
736. Pekah, his chief captain, who succeeded him.

Ahaz, called Jeho-ahaz by the Assyrians, who was now upon the throne of Judah, was a weak king, and Pekah and Rezon of Damascus formed a coalition against him. They attacked Ahaz separately and both were successful—the king of Syria carrying many captives to Damascus. Pekah also defeated Judah and was carrying away prisoners in similar fashion when the misery of the Jews so aroused the non-military part of the Israelites that they turned upon the soldiers, compelled them to relinquish their prisoners, and sent them back clothed and fed—a bright incident in a somewhat gloomy history.

The tyranny of Pekah and Rezon had an effect they little
734. contemplated, for Ahaz in despair sought help from Tiglath-Pileser III., and the great Assyrian came to the rescue. It was too late to prevent the calamities which had already overtaken Judah, but they were terribly avenged. Damascus
732. was crushed, her king slain, her people carried into exile. Israel fared no better, several of her provinces were added to Assyria, their inhabitants, especially those who lived beyond Jordan, were deported and the country made a desert. Pekah, now
730. reduced to the position of a petty chief, was slain by Hoshea, who succeeded him, reigning as vassal of the Assyrian king.

At last the death of Tiglath-Pileser encouraged the subject peoples to strike a blow for freedom and Hoshea rebelled like the rest. Shalmaneser IV. now attacked Palestine, and Hoshea at first bought him off with money and fair promises, but when it afterwards came to the knowledge of Shalmaneser that he was intriguing with Egypt, he again invaded Palestine and carried the king into captivity. The inhabitants of Samaria, however, held out bravely, and whilst the city was being besieged there was a military revolution at Nineveh, and Sargon succeeded to the Assyrian throne. Samaria fell soon after the accession of Sargon, and he 722.
took the leading Israelites into captivity. They were carried "into Assyria and placed in Halah, and in Habor the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes," whilst their places were filled by men "from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim".

Probably the poorest of the Israelites remained at home, intermarrying with the exiles who had been sent amongst them, but from this time the identity of the ten tribes was lost and the northern kingdom of Israel came to an end.

There has been much speculation in modern times concerning "the lost tribes," and curious theories have been started, but there is no mystery about the matter. Sargon carried away a certain number of the people, and probably a greater portion remained. Of those who remained some merged with the older Canaanite population amongst whom they dwelt; others with the foreign colonists who were sent from other parts of the Assyrian empire—for it is to be remarked that the fiercely exclusive spirit which abhorred mixed marriages did not arise until after the captivity. Some of those who were left doubtless kept their identity until the return of their friends from the captivity, when they reunited with them. Again, of those who were carried into exile some mingled with the surrounding inhabitants; others returned at Cyrus' invitation with their brethren of the house of Judah; whilst many remained whose descendants are to be found

scattered over Asia to this day. The idea that the ten tribes are to be looked for as a homogeneous race in any particular country is fanciful. They have never been lost in any other sense than the Huguenots were lost when they took refuge in England, or the Germans are lost when they emigrate to America.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SOLE MONARCHY OF JUDAH.

THE appeal for help made by Ahaz to Assyria had resulted in 734.
the destruction of both Israel and Damascus, and Judah was for the moment freed from anxiety. But the relief had been obtained at a great price, for now that there were no buffer states between Nineveh and Judah, the Assyrians looked covetously at Jerusalem, the strongly-fortified city lying so temptingly on the road to Egypt. Isaiah, who flourished in the successive reigns between Uzziah and Hezekiah advised Ahaz not to seek help from Assyria, but when the mischief was done and Judah became tributary, he tried to avert the danger of absorption by preserving a pacific policy in foreign affairs.

Partly because her frontier was less accessible to foreign foes, and partly because her people were loyal to the descendants of the kings to whom they owed their greatness, the kingdom of Judah had enjoyed more stable government than that of Israel; so that, whilst in Israel there had been many dynasties, on the throne of Judah, in spite of both assassination and revolution, David's family still reigned. This had tended to better administration in civil affairs, but in religious matters there had been little difference between the kingdoms, both Jew and Israelite being about equally ready to worship strange gods. Indeed, the reaction against the worship of Baal had begun in Israel, and the great prophets, Elijah and Elisha were Israelites. On the whole, however, Judah had better kings than Israel, and Hezekiah, who now succeeded

Ahaz, was one of the best. During his reign there was a marked improvement in the national tone: he ruled justly, eradicated idolatry, and recovered some of the territory
722. which Ahaz had lost.

Sargon had succeeded to the throne of Assyria and was endeavouring to restore the empire of Tiglath-Pileser which had almost gone to pieces under Shalmaneser IV. On every
712. side the subject states were fighting for independence, and Merodach-baladan, a Babylonian hero, sent an embassy to Hezekiah, ostensibly to congratulate him on recovery from sickness, but really to concert measures for a general revolt. Hezekiah foolishly listened to the Babylonian envoys, but next year Sargon overran Judah and the king had to submit—ransoming Jerusalem by the payment of a heavy fine.

705. A few years later, Sargon having been assassinated, the accession of Sennacherib was the signal for fresh revolts in the Assyrian empire, and once more Hezekiah joined the
701. rebellion. Sennacherib accepted the challenge and marched westward, but avoiding Judah for the moment turned down the coast of Phœnicia, besieging and capturing many cities and receiving tribute and homage from the rest. He got as near the frontier of Egypt as Ekron, and the Egyptians sent a relieving force to the city, but were defeated at Eltekeh and Ekron fell.

As Hezekiah still held out, Sennacherib now turned upon Judah, captured many cities and so pressed Jerusalem that the king was again compelled to ransom his capital. Sennacherib was content not to interfere further with Hezekiah just then, for he was besieging Lachish and intended thereafter to invade Egypt, whose army, defeated and dispirited, was gloomily watching him from the other side of the frontier. At length Lachish fell, and Sennacherib fearing to leave a stron ghcld like Jerusalem unsubdued in his rear, sent first an influential embassy and then a haughty letter demanding unconditional surrender. Hezekiah in despair

might have yielded, but Isaiah still lived and with his masterful spirit urged the king to refuse compliance, assuring him that Sennacherib would not be permitted to carry out his threats.

"The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.

"Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel.

"Therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest."

The idea of putting a hook in the nose was no figure of speech to an Assyrian, for they frequently dealt with their captives after this fashion.

The prediction was accomplished, though we scarcely know how. Sennacherib was close to the Egyptian border when a terrible catastrophe overtook his army, possibly a sudden and virulent visitation of the plague, a disease to which Orientals quickly succumb. However this may be, the invasion abruptly ceased, and the king hastily retreated to his own country—never venturing to attack Judah again, although he lived for years after this event.

Hezekiah was succeeded by Manasseh who reigned for 697.
over fifty years. During the first part of his reign he governed disgracefully, undoing the good which his father had done. Human sacrifices were offered, and there was bitter religious persecution, in the course of which Isaiah was slain. At length Manasseh's misgovernment attracted the attention of Assyria, and Esarhaddon, invading Judah, carried the king to Babylon in chains. The fact, related in Scripture, that Manasseh was taken to Babylon instead of Nineveh has been a trouble to critics. It appears, however, that Esarhaddon, being anxious to win the affections of his Babylonian subjects, resided in their capital for half the year, so that captives

would be brought to Nineveh or Babylon according to circumstances.

Manasseh had leisure to reflect whilst in prison; and, repenting of his evil deeds, was restored to his kingdom and ruled well for the rest of his life.

642. Amon succeeded him and did evil like his father, but without his father's repentance. After a short reign he was assassinated.

640. Josiah his son succeeded at the age of eight, and reigned prosperously for thirty years. His prosperity was partly due to the fact that Assyria had fallen upon evil times. In the last years of the reign of her great king, Assur-bani-pal, enemies had arisen on all sides, and in the short reigns of his two successors the empire came utterly to grief.

The weakness of Assyria during Josiah's reign enabled him to win back for Judah some remnant of her former glory, and provinces which had been riven from her, even as far back as the days of Rehoboam, were again united to the kingdom.

A copy of the Book of the Law was found in the temple, and Josiah, shocked to see how far his subjects had departed from its precepts, endeavoured to promote a religious reformation. He was fortunate in having good counsellors, amongst whom was Jeremiah, now rising into notice.

The Scythian hordes were at this time overrunning Western Asia, but though they penetrated as far as Ascalon, where Psamatik, the king of Egypt, met them and bribed them to turn back, Judæa escaped their notice.

Assyria had, however, suffered terribly, and before she could recover from her prostration her enemies were upon her. Pharaoh Necho, the son of Psamatik, either on his own account or having joined the alliance of the Medes and Babylonians against Assyria, advanced on Carchemish. The Egyptian army marched northward by the coast without opposition, but when it turned to cross Palestine, Josiah, drawing out his forces in defence of his suzerain, gave

battle, and was defeated and slain. His death was a great 608.
blow to the Jewish state.

The people crowned Jehoahaz, but in three months Necho, who now claimed the suzerainty, deposed him and made Jehoiakim king in his stead.

CHAPTER XIV.

BY BABEL'S STREAMS.

The Jews would probably have done well enough under the suzerainty of Necho, but unfortunately his tenure of power in Asia was destined to be brief. After the fall of Nineveh the Assyrian empire was divided, the northern portion going to Cyaxares, king of the Medes, the southern to Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. If, as is possible, Necho was a confederate, the western portion of the empire should have been left to him, but a quarrel was picked almost immediately by Nabopolassar, and Nebuchadrezzar his son attacked Necho at Carchemish and utterly defeated him, driving his army headlong back to Egypt.

The suzerainty of Judah now passed to Babylon; and Jehoiakim, as Necho's nominee, was not likely to be a favourite. Nevertheless he kept peace for three years with Nebuchadrezzar, the reigning monarch. At the end of that time he revolted, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Jeremiah, who saw in his insensate conduct the doom of the kingdom. Matters turned out as Jeremiah had foreseen. Judæa fell quickly under the feet of Nebuchadrezzar, Jehoiakim was carried in chains to Babylon, and Jehoiachin his son was appointed in his stead. The trial of Jehoiachin was, however, brief. He was as bad a ruler as any that had gone before, and after a few months Nebuchadrezzar came up and besieged Jerusalem. Jehoiachin quickly surrendered and was carried with his "princes, and all the mighty men of valour, 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths" to Babylon, none remaining "save the poorest sort of the people of the land".

Amongst the captives taken to Babylon at this time were Daniel and his companions.

Nebuchadrezzar, having removed all whom he considered likely to revolt, now gave Jerusalem another chance, appointing Zedekiah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, and youngest son of Josiah, as king over the impoverished remnant. One would 597.
have thought that the experience of the past would have sufficed, yet with incredible folly and in spite of Jeremiah's earnest remonstrances, Zedekiah, after being quiet for nine years, began plotting with Egypt, first with Psamatik II., and afterwards with Apries, the Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture.

Nebuchadrezzar lost patience utterly, and once more laid siege to Jerusalem. The siege lasted for two years, and the sufferings of the Jews were terrible. At length, all hope having fled, Zedekiah escaped by night, hoping to reach Arabia, but was captured and brought to Riblah, where Nebuchadrezzar had his headquarters. After his children had been slain in his presence, Zedekiah was blinded and led 588.
in chains to Babylon, whilst Jerusalem with its palaces and temple was plundered and destroyed.

There were now two kings of Judah in prison in Babylon, Zedekiah and Jehoiachin, Jehoiakim being dead. Zedekiah also died, but Jehoiachin survived Nebuchadrezzar and was released from prison by his son and successor Evil-Merodach.

Jeremiah, who had opposed Zedekiah's rebellion and been treated with great cruelty on that account, was invited to Babylon but would not leave Jerusalem. Over the handful who remained as vine dressers and husbandmen, Gedaliah, Jeremiah's friend, was left as governor, but he was assassinated by fugitive soldiers who were now returning under the command of Ishmael, one of the seed royal. Gedaliah's supporters rallied after his death and drove Ishmael from Jerusalem, but fearing lest Nebuchadrezzar might return and treat innocent and guilty alike, most of the Jews fled to Egypt, carrying Jeremiah with them. Concerning the fate of Jeremiah there are various traditions—one being that he escaped to Babylon,

another that he was killed by the king of Egypt, a third that he was murdered by his own countrymen.

722. When Sargon brought the kingdom of Israel to an end, and carried the inhabitants away captive, he scattered them widely, but Nebuchadrezzar did not thus treat the exiles of Judah, who seem to have settled mostly in the neighbourhood of Babylon, dwelling not as slaves but as colonists. As they acquired property and prospered greatly many of them preferred to remain in Babylonia when their brethren returned to Judæa after the captivity. Generally speaking also, they had religious freedom, though at times they suffered persecution.

The writings of Daniel and Ezekiel teem with allusions to things seen in Babylon, and the strange symbolic creatures which they describe are taken from Babylonian imagery.

Whilst many of the exiles were content with their lot, the more patriotic looked longingly back to their native land, and some of the psalms speak plaintively of this period. Babylonia presented a striking contrast to the mountainous country of Judah, for it was quite flat and interspersed with rivers and canals, along the banks of which polled willows grew, just as in the fen countries of our own land. All this was new to the exiles and they pathetically sang :—

"By the rivers of Babylon,
There we sat down, yea, we wept,
When we remembered Zion.
Upon the willows in the midst thereof
We hanged up our harps,
For there they that led us captive required of us songs,
And they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying,
Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
How shall we sing the Lord's song
In a strange land ?"

Amongst the exiles the most distinguished was Daniel. He and his friends were educated with care in Babylon, and although their faithfulness to God brought them into trouble at times, in the main they were well treated and highly

esteemed. Daniel became a satrap of the empire, and the respect in which he was held is testified by the fact that he served several monarchs in succession.

During the captivity the exiles never lost hope. Jeremiah had limited the period to seventy years, and both Isaiah and he had spoken of a time when Jerusalem should be restored and Babylon herself should sit in the dust. For this the exiles waited, and as they waited, the balance of power slowly shifted, until Cyrus, king of Elam, having conquered Astyages became king also of the Medes and Persians, and with a great force marched on Babylon. The elaborate account of the siege of Babylon, mentioned by the classical writers as belonging to the reign of Cyrus, really refers to a later reign. An inscription of Cyrus himself declares that after one pitched battle, first Sippara and then Babylon opened their gates to his army without fighting, and it is not unlikely that the Jews and other exiles dwelling in Babylonia at the time helped to bring about the result. At all events Cyrus, whether out of gratitude or from policy, in the very first year of his reign issued an edict authorising all exiles who desired it to return to their homes. Amongst those who availed themselves of the opportunity were many Jews, who were evidently in great favour and were encouraged not only to return to Judæa but to rebuild their temple.

The migration of the Jewish exiles was directed by Zerub- 537
babel and Jeshua, the former being a descendant of David, the latter hereditary high priest. The number of exiles mentioned as having returned is 42,000, but as these may have been heads of families, the total, including women and children, might be 200,000. Those who preferred to remain in Babylonia helped the expedition with gifts, and Cyrus kindly restored such of the vessels of the temple as were still in existence.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RESTORATION.

THE journey of so great a company must have been tedious, but at length it was over and "the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem". The foundations of the temple were laid with rejoicing, but the work was wearisome and often interrupted, The surrounding tribes—mixed people, with a mixed religion—coveted a share in the honour of building the temple, and when their offers were rejected with apparently needless scorn, they became bitter enemies. From that time they "weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building, and hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose". Thus several years were wasted, a period embracing the latter part of the reign of Cyrus and the whole of the reign of his son, Cambyses.

521. On the accession of Darius Hystaspis to the throne of Persia a new departure was made; and when the Samaritans again interfered, Darius confirmed the decree of Cyrus, and ordered that every assistance should be given to the Jews in their work. From this time the building made rapid progress,

515. and at last the second temple was finished and dedicated. The last five Psalms are believed to have been written for this ceremony.

During the half century which followed the dedication of the temple very important events transpired. Darius invaded Europe and attacked Greece with disastrous results; and when,

485. after his death, Xerxes again invaded Greece, the consequences were fatal to Persian prestige. Xerxes was the Ahasuerus of Scripture, and the feasting spoken of in Esther happened in

the third year of his reign, when he was receiving the governors from the various provinces of his empire, and arranging the details of the contemplated expedition. The events in which Haman played a part happened later—when the king had returned discomfited and was living at Susa.

The fact that only a small number of the Jews returned to their native country is verified by this striking story. The rest of them were scattered widely over the Persian empire, and Haman, out of a grudge against Mordecai, determined to destroy them and to enrich himself with their spoil. He managed to get the consent of Xerxes, concealing from him the full extent of his project and blinding his eyes with a promise to pay 10,000 talents of silver into the royal treasury. The design was frustrated by the wisdom of Mordecai and the devotion of Esther, and Haman was condemned to death. "Had we been sold for slaves, I had held my tongue, although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage, but we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish."

The story of Esther is full of those historical side-lights which so strikingly confirm the Scriptures. From that day to this the anniversary of the great deliverance has been observed by the Jewish people. At the Feast of Purim when the Book of Esther is read, all sexes and ages being present, at the name of Haman the congregation clap their hands and stamp with their feet, crying: "Let his memory perish".

Xerxes was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes I., whose 465.
reign was favourable to the Jews. Artaxerxes appointed Ezra, a man of priestly descent, to be governor of Judæa, and in going up from Babylon the new governor took with him many priests and Levites and large offerings of silver and gold. Ezra found that the religious zeal of the preceding emigrants had spent itself; as after rebuilding the temple they had settled down comfortably amongst their neighbours and had become very lax in their ways. He checked this laxity, forbade mixed marriages and insisted on a hard line

of separation, and from this time a spirit of rigid exclusiveness gradually took possession of the Jews.

445. From the time of Ezra's reforms until the twentieth year of Artaxerxes we have no record; but in that year the king appointed Nehemiah governor of Judæa, and sent him to Jerusalem with a commission to rebuild its walls and fortifications. How far the Persian king was influenced by a desire to favour the Jews, and how far he acted from political motives we cannot say. Persia was weak now, and it suited her to have a friendly fortress in Palestine, nor did the Jews betray the confidence of their benefactors for they remained faithful to Persia to the end.

Nehemiah had many difficulties to overcome. The day had gone by when the decree of the great king was received with unquestioning loyalty by the outlying peoples, and the workers had to build with weapons at hand. Nor were Nehemiah's troubles over when the work of building had been accomplished. There was much misery among the people; many had fallen into debt and been compelled to mortgage their land, and even to sell their children to their richer brethren. Nehemiah compelled restitution, and in so doing made enemies who even attempted to murder him. As his appointment was temporary he returned after a time to the
433. Persian court, but was re-appointed, and returning to Jerusalem was able still further to prosecute his civil and religious reforms.

Shortly after his return to Jerusalem an incident occurred
432. which proved in the end of much consequence. Manasseh, a priest of high rank, was expelled from Jerusalem for refusing to separate from his Samaritan wife—the daughter of Sanballat, the Horonite. The result was the building of the rival temple on Mount Gerizim and the organisation of the Samaritan church and worship after the Jewish model. Up to this time the Samaritans had been willing to have fellowship with the Jews, but now the temple on Gerizim was their symbol of independence and the communities ceased to have intercourse.

Artaxerxes, the patron of Ezra and Nehemiah, died after 425.
a reign of forty years. Ezra died during Nehemiah's first term of office, and after Nehemiah's death Jewish history is for a long time almost a blank. During the early part of this period the Persian power sank rapidly. There were wars on every side and Judæa must occasionally have suffered, but for the most part it seems to have been neglected by the combatants.

At length Persia was invaded by Alexander the Great. 334.
The fidelity of the Jews to their Persian benefactors drew upon them his resentment and he advanced upon Jerusalem, but the high priest met him with submissive words and disarmed his enmity. When he died and his empire was divided, 323.
Palestine fell into the hands of Laomedon. Somewhat later Ptolemy seized it, his general, Nicanor, capturing Jerusalem on the Sabbath Day, the defenders offering no resistance. Ptolemy favoured the Jews and persuaded many of them to settle in Egypt, where, during the reigns of the early kings of his dynasty, they were well treated and prospered. After this Judæa changed hands several times, being now under the rule of the Ptolemies and now under the Syro-Grecian dynasty of Antioch, but the suzerain left the government very much in the hands of the high priest. Unfortunately there was much civil contention between the members of the Jewish nobility, and the priesthood became merely a means of aggrandisement.

Antiochus Epiphanes, a violent and unscrupulous man, 176.
now succeeded to the throne of Syria. Angry at something the Jews had done or left undone, he determined to make their subjugation a reality, and accordingly captured Jerusalem and massacred many of its citizens. Not content with this he fell upon the city a second time, demolished its fortifications and built a citadel on the mound called Millo or Acra to overawe the inhabitants. Perceiving how entirely Jewish religion and nationality were bound together he determined to Hellenise the people and root out their faith. Accordingly he desecrated

every part of the temple, and laid an interdict on the worship of Jehovah throughout Judæa. Heathen altars were erected in the provincial towns, and horrible cruelties perpetrated on those who refused to conform—many, both in the capital and provinces, suffering martyrdom. Yet though some were bribed and some terrorised into heathenism, the majority stood firm. At first there was no thought of armed resistance, the people fled and Jerusalem was deserted. Some went to Egypt, while many hid themselves in the caves and fastnesses with which Judæa abounded.

CHAPTER XVI.

JUDAS MACCABÆUS.

For a time it seemed as if the policy of Antiochus was to triumph. In Jerusalem there was a strong Hellenist party, and of the orthodox minority most either yielded to coercion or left the capital. In the provinces, however, the work was not so easy. The simple-minded villagers clung with tenacity to the customs and beliefs of their forefathers, and were encouraged in their resistance to the king's edicts by the faithful men who had fled from Jerusalem rather than conform to heathenism. Amongst these was an aged priest Mattathias, who with five sons, all grown to manhood, had left the capital and was living at Modin—a village on the main road from Jerusalem to Lydda. His family traced its descent from Aaron, and derived the name of Hasmonean from Hasmon, the great-grandfather of Mattathias. When the commissioner came to Modin to enforce the edict, he tried to bribe Mattathias, but the old man slew the first Jew who dared to sacrifice on the idolatrous altar which had been erected, and then falling upon the commissioner slew him also. He and his sons then drove the Greeks out of the village, tore down every vestige of idolatry, and took to the mountains where they were soon joined by the most daring of their countrymen. The names of the sons of Mattathias were Johanan, Simon, Judas Maccabæus, Eleazar and Jonathan, and each was brave and talented in his own way, but the ablest was Judas, who soon found himself at the head of a band of resolute men and became more powerful every day.

At length Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, determined 168.

to crush the patriots, and advanced with a local levy, but was defeated and slain. This brought matters under the notice of Antiochus himself, and he, thinking to make short work of the rebellion, sent regular troops under Seron, the governor of Cœle-Syria. Judas had but a handful in comparison, but
166. he chose a position where he had advantage of ground, and falling suddenly upon the enemy defeated them utterly.

Antiochus, who had departed on a campaign to the east, had left Lysias as regent and guardian of his son, and he now took the field with 50,000 men. The vanguard of the army numbering 8,000 was under the command of Gorgias, who attempted to surprise Judas by advancing rapidly with 5,000 men, leaving 3,000 to guard his camp. Judas was apprised of his approach and instead of waiting for him, adroitly slipped past, and when Gorgias returned, weary with his vain search upon the mountains, it was to find his camp in flames, whereupon his men, panic-stricken, fled without striking a blow. The extraordinary success of Judas drew many to his standard, and when Lysias came up more carefully with the main body of his army, he also suffered defeat.

After these disasters Lysias left Judæa alone for a time, and Judas recovered Jerusalem and the adjacent country, though the Tower of Millo which dominated the city remained in Syrian hands. As Judas could not capture this tower, he blockaded it; and then, having purified and reconsecrated the
165. temple, arranged for the resumption of its sacred services.

Nor was Judas content with the recovery of Jerusalem. The Jews were widely scattered and greatly at the mercy of the heathen, especially in the provinces across Jordan, and Judas made several daring expeditions for their protection
164. and relief. Meanwhile Antiochus Epiphanes died, and was succeeded by Antiochus V. (Eupator), his second son—Demetrius, the heir, being a hostage at Rome. Lysias now made another effort to conquer the Jews, and the size of his army, and the elephants by which it was accompanied, so alarmed the followers of Judas that they fell back upon the capital. For-

tunately for them trouble at home made it impossible for Lysias to follow up his advantage, and a peace was made with Judas by which religious freedom was secured to the nation.

Next year Demetrius escaped from Rome, and having after a successful revolution slain both Lysias and his younger brother, he continued to harass the Jews until Judas, despairing of permanently holding his own against so great a power as Syria, sent ambassadors to Rome to crave protection. The ambassadors were favourably received, and a treaty was entered into, but before the embassy returned, Judæa had been again invaded and a battle fought at Elasa in which 160.
Judas Maccabæus was slain.

It is scarcely possible to speak too highly of this brave leader, who deservedly occupies a first place amongst national heroes. Fortunately after his death much of his work remained, for religious freedom was not interfered with after the convention with Lysias, and the struggle for national independence which still went on was of secondary importance.

Jonathan was chosen in succession to Judas, and remained leader for eighteen years. Though not a hero after the type of his brother, he was an excellent diplomatist; and as there were rival claimants to the throne of Antioch he contrived by playing off one against the other to gain many advantages for his country. At last, however, he was treacherously taken and slain.

The great family was not yet extinct, and Simon, the 143.
eldest, and in administration the ablest of the brothers, succeeded to the leadership. Simon, who was a calm and prudent man, set himself to consolidate that which had been acquired, securing the frontier by fortresses, gaining at last the fortress which had galled Jerusalem for so long a time, fortifying Joppa and renewing the league with Rome. The Roman Senate sent letters to their provinces announcing that 141.
they had taken the Jews under their protection, and the fact

that it was thought necessary to send these to Syria, Pergamus, Cappadocia, Parthia, Sparta, Sicyon, Delos, Crete, Samos, Cos, Rhodes, Myndus, Cnidus, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Phœnicia and Cyrene shows how widely the Jews were scattered abroad.

For a time the Jewish nation was practically independent, enjoying immunity from tribute and coining its own money, but Simon was assassinated, Antiochus Sidetes invaded Judæa
135. and Syria became once more suzerain. A few years later Antiochus fell in an expedition against the Parthians, and John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, succeeded him, governing so well that Judæa recovered something of her earlier prosperity. Samaria and Idumea were subdued, the temple at Gerizim destroyed, the country freed from tribute, and the area of its possessions so enlarged that it seemed as if a Hebrew monarchy might again be established.

But party spirit ran very high amongst the Jews, and prevented that consolidation which is essential to success. They were divided into two great sections, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, in their form something akin to the parties which have been found in so many countries—the Puritan and the Cavalier, the men of intense religious zeal and the men who chiefly desire to eat, drink and be merry.

The Maccabees and their followers were Pharisees—heroism and religious enthusiasm being inseparably blended in their characters. Unfortunately religion may degenerate into formalism, and men who have gained freedom for themselves are not always keenly anxious that it should be enjoyed by others. Hence, it came to pass, that as time went on and the early heroes passed away, prosperity tried the people more than adversity, and there came to be much partizanship and little religious feeling in their divisions.

John Hyrcanus was a Pharisee by birth, but in his later days a coldness had sprung up between him and his party, and he had leaned towards the Sadducees. His immediate successors, Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus, broke with the Pharisees entirely and for some years there was bitter civil

strife. After Alexander's death his widow declared her alle- 77.
giance to the Pharisees, and was so well supported by them that she ruled prosperously for nine years. When she died the leading men in the state were Hyrcanus II., who had been made high priest during her life, and succeeded to the civil power at her death; Aristobulus, his brother, an active and ambitious man; and Antipater, an Idumæan, Hyrcanus' confidential friend and prime minister. Hyrcanus had little ambition and would gladly have made way for Aristobulus, but Antipater, who was practically ruler, persuaded him to maintain his position by arms, and civil war went on until Rome interfered between the rivals, and Pompey captured Jerusalem after a three months' siege. The Roman general 63.
treated the Jews with lenity and, except that he offended them by personally inspecting the Holy of Holies, spared their religious feelings. He placed Hyrcanus upon the throne as friend and ally of the Roman people and sent Aristobulus to Rome a prisoner. After a time Aristobulus escaped and raised an insurrection, but was captured by Gabinius and sent back to Rome. Gabinius tried the effect of decentralisation upon the Jewish state, depriving the high priest of supreme power and vesting it in five independent oligarchic councils, sitting at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus and Sepphoris, but such an arrangement was not likely to last, and it does not seem to have lessened the feeling of national unity amongst the people.

The civil war in the Roman empire between Cæsar and Pompey had now broken out; and Antipater, acting nominally for Hyrcanus but really for himself, at first espoused the cause of Pompey, but after the battle of Pharsalus went over to Cæsar's side and gave him invaluable aid when he was in 48.
peril at Alexandria. Cæsar did not forget this; and, when his own position was secure, he appointed Antipater procurator of Judæa—Hyrcanus remaining high priest.

The position of the Jewish nation was now greatly improved, the oligarchies were abolished, various conquests re-

stored, and the walls of Jerusalem rebuilt. Antipater, who continued in favour at Rome, appointed his elder son to the government of Jerusalem, his younger son Herod he made governor of Galilee. Herod was a man of daring and decision, and on occasions showed qualities worthy of kingship, but the circumstances which surrounded him brought out the worst side of his character.

The rule of Antipater, his father, had been advantageous to the Jews, but they could not forget that he had gained power at the expense of their favourite Maccabæan family and their attitude towards Herod showed hostility up to the limits of prudence. The Sanhedrin crossed swords with him when he was a young man, calling him to account for the arbitrary execution of a robber chief, but the defiant manner in which he treated them made them glad to let him go.

43. At last Antipater was murdered, and the power fell into the hands of Phasael and Herod. Against these Antigonus, the Maccabæan heir contended, and so successfully that Phasael committed suicide, whilst Herod fled to Rome. There, however, he won Antony's friendship; and shortly after, when Judæa was rent by dissension between the various parties, Antony cut the knot by sending Herod back to Jerusalem as king.

CHAPTER XVII.

HEROD.

HAVING the title of king and the support of Rome, Herod soon 37.
surmounted opposition and set himself to consolidate his power. He reorganised the Sanhedrin, slew forty-five leading opponents, and put his own supporters in high places. He abolished the life tenure of the high priests' office, and brought it under the secular power. The Sadducees, who had been his leading opponents, were reduced to insignificance; but the Pharisees, who had opposed the union of the high priesthood and the civil power in one person, gained influence. Herod's greatest danger arose from the rivalry of the Maccabæans, and in order to conciliate their supporters he married Mariamne, a member of the popular family, by whom he had two sons who were greatly beloved by the people.

Herod had many enemies, and every effort was made to poison Antony's mind against him. He managed to keep out of the quarrel between Antony and Octavius; and when the battle of Actium decided the question in favour of the latter, he confirmed Herod in his government and even increased the area of the territory which was under his rule.

For some years Herod did Judæa excellent service. He rebuilt Samaria and founded Cæsarea, a city on the sea-shore, with a fine breakwater and palatial buildings. During his reign there was a serious famine in Judæa accompanied by pestilence. Herod behaved admirably at this crisis, putting all his wealth at the disposal of the sufferers; importing grain from Egypt, and supplying seed corn to the people.

He made a great bid for popularity by undertaking to 20.

rebuild the temple. The second temple, which had been built by Zerubbabel, was now five centuries old, of rude construction and greatly dilapidated. Yet, even so, Herod had to make his preparations for the new building before daring to touch the old, lest the Jews should think that he meant to destroy the temple altogether. But he acted in good faith, and at last the new building arose, stately and magnificent in marble and gold. Yet the erection of the temple did not suffice to give the Jews confidence in Herod, for, whilst he professed zeal for the Jewish religion, he did much in opposition to it. A conspiracy was formed to assassinate him, and, though it was discovered and the ringleaders were punished, he felt the insecurity of his position and built the tower of Antonia, commanding the temple, in order that he might quell riots and take refuge there in time of danger.

In considering Herod's character allowance must be made for him because of the misery of his domestic life. His foes were they of his own household. His arch enemy was Salome, his sister, an unscrupulous and bloodthirsty woman who had great influence over him and used it to his destruction. Herod was passionately attached to Mariamne, his Maccabæan wife. Salome hated this excellent woman and made mischief between her and her husband so successfully that at last Herod ordered Mariamne to be put to death.

The queen died with great dignity, and his remorse was instant and terrible, his life being from that moment steeped in gloom, broken only by flashes of vindictive madness.

Herod had several wives and many sons. The eldest was Antipater, the son of Doris his first wife, whom he had divorced when he wedded Mariamne. The second and third sons were Aristobulus and Alexander, born to him by his martyred wife. Antipater lived in exile, and on Aristobulus and Alexander Herod lavished his affection. They were educated at Rome, from which city they returned highly accomplished, and as the Maccabæan blood flowed in their veins they were the idols of the people. The detestable Salome, fearing lest they might

take vengeance on her for their mother's death, set herself to undermine their influence with their father, and persuaded him to recall Antipater, with whom she plotted against their lives. At length the intriguers worked Herod to such a 5. pitch of frenzy that he ordered the execution of the youths, and scarcely was it over when he learned that he had been miserably deceived.

His brother Pheroras who lay dying was so touched by Herod's kindness in visiting him that he confessed himself to have been in a plot to poison him, the other conspirators being Herod's wife and Antipater his son. Antipater was then in Rome, and, when he unsuspectingly returned, he was arrested. His guilt being proved sentence of death was passed, subject to confirmation at Rome.

Herod was now an old man, and dying from an incurable disease. His last days were pitiable. He had murdered his beloved wife and his favourite sons at the bidding of his fiendish sister, who even yet kept her influence over him, and now he was awaiting the confirming order which would give him power to slay his first born.

It was about this time that the "massacre of the innocents" took place, the tragedy with which Herod's name is for ever associated. There is no record of it in profane history, but that is not wonderful, for it was but an incident in Herod's life. Bethlehem was a small town, and the number of male children in it from two years old and under would not be so great that their death need attract much notice. The king's death-bed was a terrible one. In his agony he attempted to commit suicide but was prevented. Consent had arrived for him to deal with Antipater as he wished. Perhaps he might have forgiven him, but at the last he heard of further plotting and ordered him to be slain.

Herod's last act was one of savage cruelty. He was lying at Jericho, and, determined that there should be mourning at his funeral, he summoned the leading Jews to attend him; and, when many assembled, he had them shut up in the

hippodrome. He then called his sister Salome, whose cruelty he thought he could trust, and instructed her to see that they were massacred as soon as he was dead, but even Salome dared not carry out such orders, and released them.

4. So much confidence had the Romans in Herod that they had given him power to bequeath his kingdom to whom he would, subject to imperial confirmation. Accordingly he left the kingdom to Archelaus, whilst Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip governor of Cæsarea. Archelaus therefore nominally "reigned in his stead," but he was never legally king, for his kingship was not confirmed by Rome. The Romans gave him temporarily the position of ethnarch, and refused the kingship until they saw whether he was worthy of it. After ten years of misgovernment an embassy consisting of both Jews and Samaritans went to Rome, lodged heavy complaints against him, and besought the emperor to depose him. Accordingly he was deposed and banished, and Judæa placed under procurators. Herod the Great was, therefore, the last of the vassal kings, and with him the sceptre may be said to have departed from Judah. The Shiloh had come.

The scheme of the present work makes it necessary to interrupt the history of the Jewish race at the dawn of the Christian era. The siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, and other interesting events yet to be narrated must therefore be left for another volume.

PHŒNICIA.

PHOENICIA
AND
HER COLONIES.

PHŒNICIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

PHŒNICIA was the name given by the Greeks to the strip of land lying on the Levant, between the mountains of Lebanon and the sea. Like the Greeks the Phœnicians prided themselves on their autonomy, and lived separately in their cities, having no common name but that of Canaanites, a name which applied equally to the inhabitants of the inland districts occupied by the Hebrews. The mountains came so near the shore that Phœnicia was but thirty miles across in its widest part, and in most places much narrower. Its length never exceeded 300 miles, and during the period concerning which we have most historic knowledge it was only about 120 miles long. Small, however, though the territory was, it was extremely diversified in character, having plains, like that of Sharon, of great beauty, and hills varying from the gentle heights of Carmel to the snow-clad mountains of Lebanon.

On their narrow strip of land the Phœnicians had twenty-five cities, of which, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Byblus, Marathus and Tripolis were specially important; Laodicea, Simyra, Arka, Aphaca, Berytus, Ecdippa, Accho, Dor and Joppa were of secondary importance; whilst Gabala, Botrys, Sarepta and the rest were smaller still.

Having so little territory and so large a population the Phœnicians had to make the most of their space. Irrigation was freely adopted, and the slopes of the mountains terraced, in order to widen the area of arable land. The

country produced food abundantly, but the non-agricultural section of the community was large, and food had often to be imported. Thus, when the Tyrians were helping Solomon to build the temple in Jerusalem, he recompensed them with quantities of wheat, barley, wine and oil ; and at a later time, when trouble arose between Herod and Tyre and Sidon, the Phœnician ambassadors desired peace "because their country was fed from the king's country".

The Phœnicians belonged to the Semitic branch of the human family, and there is a theory that they came from the Persian Gulf, but we know nothing definite about them until we find them on the shores of the Mediterranean—a race of indefatigable merchants and explorers, their towns all seaports, their only thought, how best to push commerce wherever it could be pushed.

The Phœnicians did not excel in either architecture or æsthetic art, though the work done for Solomon shows that they were not without skill even in these branches. Their architecture was, however, heavy, and their æsthetic art primitive in character, but their industrial art was celebrated from the remotest times.

In the field of literature the Phœnicians have left nothing in book form worthy of preservation, but they are credited with having been the first to depart from the clumsy and elaborate method of writing in pictorial and cuneiform characters, and to introduce the simpler letters upon which modern language is based. Other inventions in science and art are attributed to them ; in arithmetic, weights and measures, glass manufacture, coinage, navigation and astronomy ; and if they did not actually invent, they must at any rate have the credit of developing these things, and of introducing them to the peoples of the Mediterranean.

The religious sentiment was strong amongst the Phœnicians, as it has usually been amongst Semitic and seafaring races. Phœnician names were frequently given in honour of a deity, and there are many other signs that the gods were held

in reverence. In early times they acknowledged one deity, speaking of him under different names, but in historic times they were polytheists, idolaters of the ordinary sort, and their gods were much the same as those of the surrounding nations. Baal was their chief god; Ashtoreth, the queen of heaven, was greatly worshipped; at Tyre there was a magnificent temple to Melkarth, otherwise known as Hercules; and they had other gods—Hadad, Dagon, Adonis and the rest. Worship was conducted with prayer, praise and sacrifice; and festivals were held in honour of special deities. As time went on, the religion of the Phœnicians became both fierce and sensual. A graphic picture of their worship is given in the Bible where Elijah challenges the prophets of Baal to a controversy. At that time Jezebel, a Sidonian princess, was queen in Israel, and we read that the prophets, doubtless Phœnicians, "cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them". Sometimes human sacrifices were offered. Melkarth was the local name for Moloch, who was supposed to reign supreme in time of war, pestilence and famine. On such occasions he had to be appeased, and when the occasion was important, human sacrifices were offered. We have not much information concerning these sacrifices in Phœnicia, owing to the absence of literary remains, but in Carthage there was a statue specially designed to receive them. However terrible such worship might be, it was doubtless sincere, and the offering of a child, horrible though it seems, may sometimes have been the despairing cry of a soul seeking to propitiate God, by giving him that which was more precious to the offerer than life itself.

CHAPTER II.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

As merchants and industrial pioneers the Phœnicians were long unrivalled. Centuries before Rome was founded or Greece heard of in history, when Egypt was bound up in herself, or, if she sent armies forth, sent them only to plunder and destroy, whilst the Hebrews were yet in the house of bondage, and neither Assyria nor Babylonia had given sign of greatness, the ships of this extraordinary people were sailing far and wide, peacefully exchanging wares with all who desired to sell or to buy.

The Phœnicians were famous for their dyes. They had discovered that a shellfish on their coast secreted a tiny drop of fluid from which a dye could be extracted capable of being used in many gradations of colour, and so beautiful that the value of fabrics treated with it was increased tenfold. Cloth thus dyed was used by royalty, and the wealthy, but humbler people liked to have a little of it on their garments, if only a ribbon or narrow fringe. When the home fisheries became exhausted, the Phœnicians searched elsewhere for the shellfish, gradually ransacking the Mediterranean and establishing depôts at suitable places to which the natives brought the fish that it might be treated on the spot by skilful hands, only the valuable fluid being carried back to Phœnicia.

Trade, beginning in this simple way, soon expanded. Money was little used in those days, and would have been worthless to the native populations in any case. Trading was carried on by means of barter, and textile fabrics of all sorts —linen, woollen, cotton and silk, besides bronze work, glass, pottery, jewellery, arms and ornaments—were manufactured

by the Phœnicians, and exchanged against whatever their customers had to give. In those days most ornaments, weapons and implements, were made of bronze which is an amalgam of copper and tin. Copper the Phœnicians obtained easily in Cyprus, but tin was harder to find, and in their search for it they went far afield. It was indeed thought that they ventured as far as Britain, sailing by way of the Straits of Gibraltar. It is known that they visited the Cassiterides or Tin Islands, and these were believed to be identical with the Scilly Isles, but recent historians incline to the belief that the Cassiterides were small islands off the coast of Galicia in Spain, and think that if the Phœnicians obtained tin from Britain it must have come across France to the Mediterranean.

The trade of Phœnicia was not confined to the Mediterranean, nor restricted to maritime enterprise. Lying between east and west, Phœnicia was a convenient emporium for the produce of the known world, and her merchants became ubiquitous. They were to be found in Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Arabia and Persia. From Tyre and Sidon caravan routes diverged in many directions, and bodies of merchants keeping together for the sake of protection were continually on the move.

Trading operations on so wide a scale could not be carried on without permanent stations, and stations developed into settlements, settlements into colonies, with a rapidity which was the greater because their territory was small and they could only overflow into the sea. We cannot tell in what order their colonies were established, but they had cities on the shores of the Black Sea, in Thrace, Greece, the Islands of the Ægean, Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, Spain and Africa. In Africa the important cities of Utica and Carthage were founded, and Lixos beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Beyond Lixos, towards the Senegal, there were nearly 300 depôts for gathering the ivory and other valuables brought by the natives. In Spain they built the important city of Gades, a city now well known as Cadiz, and still prosperous.

On the Guadalquivir lay the town and district of Tarshish, with a surrounding country rich in precious metals, producing fine wool, and overflowing with oil, and wine and wheat. Wonderful tales are told of the wealth extracted by the Phœnicians from Spain; and, leaving a margin for exaggeration, it must have been very great, justifying the poetic fervour of Zechariah when he says: "Tyre did build herself a stronghold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets".

Ezekiel draws a vivid picture of Tyre in her greatness: "O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles. Thy borders are in the heart of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees from Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make a mast for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood, from the Isles of Cyprus. Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, blue and purple from the Isles of the Ægean was thine awning. The inhabitants of Sidon and Aradus were thy rowers: thy wise men, O Tyre, were in thee, they were thy pilots. Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares. Javan, Tubal, and Mesech they were thy traffickers: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy merchandise. They of the house of Armenia traded for thy wares with horses and war-horses and mules. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy handiworks: they traded for thy wares with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and rubies. Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy traffickers: they traded for thy merchandise wheat, and honey, and oil, and balm. Damascus was thy merchant with the wine of Helbon and white wool. Dedan was thy trafficker in precious cloths for riding. Arabia in lambs, and rams and goats. Sheba and Raamah traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with

all precious stones and gold. Haran and Canneh and Eden, Asshur and Chilmad, in choice wares, in bales of blue and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar, among thy merchandise. When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many peoples; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise. And thou hast said, I am a god, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas."

CHAPTER III.

GREATNESS.

We first touch Phœnician history in connection with the reign
1500. of Thothmes III., the Egyptian conqueror, who during his long reign of fifty-four years subdued Canaan, and made it into a province. The cities had to send tribute and the most important of them were placed under Egyptian governors, but otherwise they were probably not much interfered with. The annals of this king show that at that early date these cities were advanced in civilisation, and the treasure which he brought with him to Egypt proves that they were wealthy and able to manufacture articles of beauty.

1400. The Tel el-Amarna letters give us much interesting information about the Phœnician cities. They were still under Egyptian governors, but the power of Egypt was not what it had been; there were evidently many rebellious spirits in them and they were slipping from Egyptian grasp. The eighteenth dynasty of which Thothmes was a member came to an end; and though the kings of the nineteenth strove to
1300. conquer Syria, and still spoke of the princes of Tyre as vassals, Egypt never regained her position in Asia. From the Tel el-Amarna letters we learn that Tyre was already famous on account of her wealth. One writer says: "Behold, the palace of the city of Tyre: there is no palace of any other governor like unto it; exceeding great is the wealth". Notwithstanding the surpassing greatness of Tyre, Sidon had the earlier pre-eminence, and seems even to have given its name to the district on which the cities stood. In Genesis we read that "Canaan begat Sidon his first born"; in Joshua "Great Sidon" is mentioned, and "the fenced city of Tyre";

and in Homer, whilst mention is made of Sidonian wares, Tyre is not spoken of. Evidently, therefore, in the early centuries Sidon was predominant. Its name is probably derived from Said, the god of fishermen, and the teeming city with its harbour and wide commerce, doubtless grew out of a small fishing village. Tyre, the city of the rock, which eventually surpassed Sidon, was of later foundation.

The Phœnicians occupied a territory well guarded by nature. On one side lay the Mediterranean, on the other the mountains of Lebanon with their forests, precipices and snow-clad peaks. Phœnicia was out of the way, and when other parts of Syria were overrun, it escaped. When kings determined to subjugate it, they approached either from the northern or southern extremity of Lebanon. If they came from the north, the island city of Aradus had to bear the brunt of the fighting; if from the south, it fell upon Tyre. History makes it clear that when it was needful the Phœnicians could fight with desperate courage, but it was rarely that they cared to offer much resistance to an invader. Business considerations generally made it more prudent for them to submit. If they were attacked by Assyria, Babylonia or Egypt, it suited them better to submit nominally and agree to the payment of tribute, for even if they could hope successfully to defy a great power, there would be an end to pacific trading and the tribute which secured its friendship was as nothing compared with the loss of profit which would result from its enmity. Thus the Phœnicians paid tribute willingly, looking upon it as a toll by which they gained permission to trade freely and recouped themselves a hundredfold. For a similar reason they were in the habit of paying a ground rent to the natives amongst whom they founded settlements, and of continuing payment even when their settlements became powerful and could have safely defied their neighbours. It was not cowardice nor want of patriotism which induced them to take such a course, but an intelligent appreciation of what was best for their material interest.

There have been writers who have accused the Phœnicians of deceit, of disregarding the rights of weaker peoples, and of sharp practice in trading. Doubtless there were many dishonest Phœnicians, but it is absurd to imagine that dishonesty could have been a national characteristic. The Phœnicians must as a race have won the respect and confidence of the natives with whom they traded, or their history would tell of reprisal and massacre instead of being a record of peaceful trading with civilised and uncivilised alike for centuries of time.

The supremacy of Sidon over the other Phœnician cities was rudely shaken by a war with the Philistines. This hardy pirate race had come to Canaan during the tribal movement which threatened Egypt in the reign of Ramses III. and had established themselves in Ashdod, Askelon, Ekron, Gaza and Gath. Being great fighters they quarrelled with the Sidonians about the possession of Dor. Dor was really in Philistia but had been colonised by Sidon and was a favourite fishing-ground, possessing fine beds of the shell fish from which
1250. their dye was extracted. An obstinate war resulted, in which the Sidonians were worsted; and perhaps it was about this time that Tyre forged ahead and became the foremost city in Phœnicia.

The first king of Tyre of whom we have historic knowledge is Hiram, said to have been the son of Abi-Baal. Owing to difficulties in chronology the precise date of the accession of Hiram cannot be fixed, but it must have been towards the
960. end of the reign of King David. Hiram was only nineteen when he became king, and he reigned between thirty and forty years, rebuilding Tyre and raising it to great prosperity and power. When he came to the throne, the city stood on two islands, and there was little available building land. Hiram filled up the space between the islands, and reclaimed land from the sea, so that he not only enlarged the building area, but could afford to have a public square in the middle of the city. Walls were also built, the harbours improved, and

the temple of Melkarth restored. The trade of Phœnicia was greatly helped in his reign by the disappearance of the Philistine pirates from the Levant. They had been buccaneers by profession, but King David subdued them, and incorporated the more turbulent spirits amongst them in his army, to the great benefit of the Phœnician trader. It was little wonder therefore if Hiram admired the Hebrew monarch, and kept on friendly terms with his son. There were other reasons why the Phœnicians should desire to be friendly with the Hebrews. Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt were now depressed, and David's kingdom stretched over Syria, covering the caravan routes by which the merchandise of Asia found its way to Phœnicia. Moreover Hiram and Solomon could be mutually helpful. Solomon commanded the east, Hiram the west. Edom, with its Red Sea harbours was a Hebrew province, whilst the best ports on the Mediterranean were Phœnician. Accordingly a trading partnership was entered into by the kings, to their mutual benefit, Solomon importing European products through Tyre whilst Hiram used the Hebrew ports in his trade with Arabia and Ophir.

The partnership was useful in another way. King David had founded an empire and established Jerusalem as its capital, but he had done little to make the capital worthy of the empire. Solomon, imitating Hiram, and the Pharaohs with whom he had made matrimonial alliance, determined to build on a great scale. In this matter Hiram did him much service, for the Hebrews were an agricultural people, unskilled either in architecture or art, whereas Tyre had an abundant supply of handicraftsmen. Already either Hiram or his father had sent at David's request large quantities of material, which was stored in readiness for the work, and now Hiram gladly threw his energies into it, sending material and lending architects and workmen without stint. The temple occupied seven years in building, and Solomon also built palaces for himself and his Egyptian queen. The fortifications of the city were greatly strengthened, and the palace

was protected by a fortress called Millo. These works occupied twenty years, and the friendship of the monarchs continued during the whole of their lives, although Solomon treated Hiram somewhat shabbily on one occasion, giving him, in exchange for a large quantity of gold, a district of Galilee, which seems to have been worthless both to himself and to Hiram.

The friendship of Solomon was of peculiar value to the Phœnicians at this period of their history. It was the time when the Greeks, who had learned shipbuilding and navigation from the Phœnicians, were seriously competing with them, pressing them out of the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, and causing them to seek other outlets for their trade. These they were finding in Sicily, Africa and Spain, and having also access to the east, they became very rich, and the grandeur of Phœnicia reached its zenith.

During Hiram's reign the Phœnicians engaged in a war of some importance, conjectured to have been with Utica an important colony near the site on which Carthage was afterwards built. Hiram succeeded in quelling the revolt, and in handing down his empire to his son unimpaired.

920. Baal-azar, his son, reigned uneventfully for seven years and was succeeded by Abdstarte I. who reigned peacefully for nine years, but was then murdered; and years of trouble followed, during which the monarchs met with violent deaths and the dynasty was thrice changed.

Phœnicia could not now trade with the East so freely as in the days of David and Solomon. The Hebrew monarchy was divided, rival kings sat on the thrones of Israel and Judah, and the outlying portions of the empire had seceded, and were often in open enmity and war. Farther east still, Assyria was raising her head threateningly and would soon strike the nations of Western Asia with deadly force. Ethbaal

880. was king of Tyre when Phœnicia came into contact with Assyria. It was not actually for the first time, because two centuries earlier Tiglath-Pileser I. had made an excursion to

the shore of Syria, and been hospitably entertained by the inhabitants of Aradus, the most northern of the Phœnician ports. But the greatness of Tiglath Pileser I. was premature, and Assyria had lain dormant until, in the ninth century before our era, aided by the break-up of the Hebrew monarchy, she began to reassert herself. Assur-nazir-pal her monarch carried desolation into Western Asia, but his attack was chiefly directed against the Hittites, and the Phœnicians satisfied him by sending gifts. Ethbaal was contemporaneous with Ahab, king of Israel, who married Jezebel his daughter. He was a man of enterprise, during whose reign Tyre held her own. Ethbaal was succeeded by Baal-azar, and he by Metten I. Metten reigned for nine years and died, leaving Pygmalion, an infant son, but nominating as his successor Sicharbas, the High Priest of Melkarth, who was married to Elissa his daughter. The tale runs that when Pygmalion came to manhood he killed Sicharbas, upon which Elissa, with such nobles as adhered to her, fled, first to Cyprus and afterwards to Africa, where a site was obtained and the Colony of Carthage founded. 853.

CHAPTER IV.

SUBJECTION.

PHŒNICIA had been invaded by Assur-nazir-pal, but the Assyrian had been bought off by rich gifts and a nominal subjection, and during his long reign he gave Phœnicia no serious trouble.

858. Shalmaneser II., his son, warred continuously with Syria, especially with Hamath and Damascus which were helped by the Phœnician cities, but at last all submitted, agreeing to pay an annual tribute, and sending valuable presents from time to time. The friendship of Assyria was now as necessary to the Phœnicians as that of the Hebrews had been in earlier times, for the oriental caravan routes crossed Assyrian dependencies. The payment of tribute, therefore, was in a sense for service rendered, and did not of itself imply that Phœnicia had ceased to be prosperous. The prophet could still speak of Tyre as: "The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth".

745. But Tiglath-Pileser III. attempted to draw the bonds closer, and compelled various cities in Northern Syria and Phœnicia to accept Assyrian governors. For a time this bondage was borne; but, when it was seen to be merely a step in the process of absorption, a revolt ensued in which the Phœnician city of Simyra joined. The revolt was unsuccessful, and the city was destroyed. The fate of Simyra alarmed the other Phœnician cities, and Elulæus, king of Tyre, fearing lest they should be swallowed up separately, endeavoured to get them to unite in a defensive alliance against the common danger. Accordingly

727. when Shalmaneser IV. invaded Phœnicia they showed a united

front, and he was at first foiled. Afterwards he sent emissaries to stir up disaffection, who were so successful that Tyre was left to fight a single-handed battle. Even so, the brave city proved a match for him, holding out until he died or was 722.
murdered, and Sargon became king.

Elulæus seems to have made honourable terms with Sargon, and to have prospered under his suzerainty, restoring the alliance with, and in some degree re-establishing his own authority over the other Phœnician cities.

Sargon was succeeded by Sennacherib, who determined to 705.
subjugate Western Asia thoroughly. As usual when there was a change of monarch, the subject countries had become restless, and, encouraged by Egypt, Phœnicia and Judah threw off the Assyrian yoke. Sennacherib levied an army of 200,000 men and marched upon Phœnicia; and Elulæus, who was still king of Tyre, was so alarmed that he fled to Cyprus. After this Sennacherib subdued the cities one after the other without difficulty, though he does not claim to have captured Tyre; and then, having appointed Tubaal as king of Phœnicia in place of Elulæus, he marched southward on that ill-fated campaign in which he lost the greater part of his army.

In the reign of Esarhaddon, Abdi-Melkarth the king of 680.
Sidon, who seems to have succeeded Tubaal, revolted. Esarhaddon attacked Sidon and the king fled, but was captured and executed; after which Sidon was treated with great severity, the town being largely destroyed, most of the inhabitants carried off to Assyria, and their places filled by captives from Babylonia and Elam. At this time Baal, king of Tyre, was a favourite at the Assyrian Court; but afterwards, when Esarhaddon determined on the conquest of Egypt, he complains that Baal sided with the enemy, "putting his trust in Tirhakah, king of Cush". Egypt was conquered and Tyre blockaded, but after a time, either during the reign of Esarhaddon or that of his successor Assur-bani-pal, the city surrendered on honourable terms, and Baal was permitted to retain his throne.

668. The conquest of Egypt had to be undertaken over again by Assur-bani-pal, but, when it had been successfully accomplished, he determined to humble Baal, either for some new offence or because the old had never been properly avenged. Tyre was accordingly blockaded on the land side, until the king was constrained to plead for grace, when he was once more restored to favour. It may seem strange that Tyre should have been so often forgiven, but it was at that time the greatest commercial city in the world, and capable of paying a heavy tribute, which the Assyrian kings did not care to lose. When other Phœnician towns revolted, they were not so leniently dealt with, and the fate of Sidon, Simyra and Acre might have ultimately overtaken Tyre, had not Assyria herself been destroyed by her enemies.

Before the end of the reign of Assur-bani-pal it became evident that Assyria had overtaxed her strength, and decay began to set in. The careful arrangements made for maintaining supremacy in Egypt were overthrown by Psamatik, who dared even to cross the frontier and invade Palestine, whilst Phœnicia became once more independent. Meanwhile Assyria was contending for existence. Elam and Babylonia had revolted, and though fire and sword had been carried through both countries unsparingly, the people were only half subdued. In the north a new power, the Median, had arisen, and Assyria was invaded by unsparing foes. The attack did not immediately succeed, for Cyaxares, who led it, had to return to save his own country from the Scythians, but the relief was only for a moment. Soon Assyria herself was trodden underfoot by the barbarians, and, when their invasion had spent itself, she had lost her empire. The Medes and
606. Babylonians had but to strike a final blow, and Nineveh succumbed.

Phœnicia was now free from Assyria, but her conquerors had to be reckoned with. The final downfall of the great empire had been brought about by Egypt, Media and Babylon, and the first blow had been struck by Egypt,

Pharaoh Necho having captured Carchemish, and cut As- 608.
syria off from the western half of her empire. By right of conquest, therefore, Phœnicia belonged to Egypt, but scarcely had Nineveh fallen when Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, attacked the Egyptians and drove them headlong out of Syria back to their own land. Even there they would not have been permitted to rest but that Nabopolassar died and Nebuchadrezzar had to return quickly to make his 605.
succession sure. The Phœnicians now passed under the suzerainty of Babylon, but they kept up friendly relations with Egypt, where Necho wisely devoted his energies to the development of his country. In this estimable work he was helped by the Phœnicians, who are thought to have been permitted by him to establish a colony at Memphis. During Necho's reign they performed a notable feat. The Egyptian king was anxious to find a way of transporting his fleet from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and at first tried to solve the problem by digging a canal. This work proved beyond his strength, and he determined to see whether it might not be possible to circumnavigate Africa. Accordingly 600.
he persuaded Phœnician sailors to undertake the experimental voyage, and they were successful, starting from the Red Sea, rounding the Cape, and returning by way of the Straits of Gibraltar. The voyage took nearly three years to accomplish, for they only sailed by daylight, lay by in rough weather, landed in the autumn, and remained on shore long enough to sow seed and raise a crop of corn. When they returned they declared that in sailing westward they had the sun on their right hand, that is in the north—a story which was then treated as incredible, but now proves that they actually performed the feat. Thus Africa was circumnavigated by Phœnicians 2,000 years before Vasco da Gama, nor is it exaggeration to term their voyage the most daring that has ever been attempted in the world's history. As the distance round Africa proved to be so great, the route was valueless for the purpose which Necho had in hand, and as its scientific

importance was not realised at that time, the very fact that Africa was circumnavigable was forgotten.

Meanwhile under the rule of Nebuchadrezzar, Babylon took up the position which Assyria had occupied amongst the western nations, and was as cordially hated by them as her predecessor had been. A spirit of disaffection quickly spread, and Phœnicia and Palestine drew towards Egypt—Necho doing his best to foment rebellion. A revolt took place immediately after Nebuchadrezzar ascended the throne, but the Babylonians were at war with Elam, and it was some years before he could attend to his Syrian province. At last he marched westward and besieged Jerusalem. The city soon fell and was destroyed, the temple was burnt, the king carried prisoner to Babylon. Other cities having been disposed of in like manner, Nebuchadrezzar laid
586. siege to Tyre; but as the Tyrians had command of the sea, the siege was tedious, and it was thirteen years before the city submitted. Apparently Nebuchadrezzar was satisfied with its submission and did not further injure it, but the long siege had diminished its commerce, and Sidon regained its ancient position and became the leading city in Phœnicia.

Under Babylonian rule the condition of Phœnicia was one of steady decline. The Greeks were now very active in the Mediterranean, and had obtained a large share of the commerce which the Phœnicians had formerly enjoyed as a monopoly. Carthage was also expanding rapidly and much of the trade in Spain, at one time so lucrative, was now diverted from the mother country to her enterprising colony. Under any circumstances, therefore, the Phœnicians would have had a struggle to hold their own, but the effort was made much harder by Nebuchadrezzar, who reduced their cities to a condition of dependence which cramped both political and industrial progress. From this time, therefore, Tyre became of less significance in the world's history, although she still enjoyed a moderate degree of prosperity.

CHAPTER V.

SUBJUGATION.

THE condition of Phœnicia under Babylonian rule had been so 538.
unhappy that she must have viewed the fall of the Babylonian empire and the rise of the Persian with satisfaction. Nor would the satisfaction of the Phœnicians be the less marked because Cyrus the new conqueror was so much occupied establishing his authority elsewhere that he had no time to trouble with them. All that a trading country really needs is to be left alone, and Phœnicia was left alone during the reign of Cyrus. She therefore courageously resumed her commercial career, and met with a satisfactory amount of success, though the glory of former days could not again return.

One of the first acts of Cyrus had been to permit exiles to return to their homes. Amongst those who took advantage of his offer were the Jews, and probably also many Phœnicians. The Jews at once set about rebuilding their temple, and it is interesting to notice that in doing this they were helped by the Phœnicians as loyally as they had been helped when building the first temple. Ezra relates how they gave money to the masons and to the carpenters; "and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Sidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia".

Cyrus had been too busy to pay attention to the conquest of Phœnicia and Egypt, but his son Cambyses no sooner succeeded him than he marched west with an overwhelming 529.
force. The Phœnicians wisely attempted no resistance, and

Cambyses, realising how useful they might be in connection with the invasion of Egypt, did all he could to gain their friendship. Accordingly they placed a large fleet at his disposal, aided by which the conquest of Egypt was successfully accomplished. Unfortunately Cambyses determined on three further expeditions, two of which ended disastrously. The third was to have been against the important city of Carthage, but he had to abandon his intention owing to the patriotic attitude of the Phœnicians, who refused to fight against their own colony.

521. After Cambyses' death his successors found the maritime people exceedingly useful and showed them favour, in return for which they provided the most important section of the Persian navy. During the reign of Darius Phœnicia prospered, for the arrangements which he made for the protection of travellers, the building of roads and bridges, and the establishment of a gold and silver currency, facilitated commerce. The Phœnicians were therefore contented, and when
500. Aristagoras of Miletus revolted, and the revolt spread throughout the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and much depended on the action which the Phœnicians might take, they stood loyally by Persia.

The course taken by Athens during the revolt in Asia Minor determined Darius to invade Greece, and he sent an
492. expedition under Mardonius, but it met with many disasters and returned ingloriously. Two years later another fleet sailed across the Ægean under Datis and Artaphernes, with the army which was so signally defeated by the Athenians on the plain of Marathon.

Darius dying, the next attempt against Greece was made
480. by Xerxes, and in this the Phœnicians, who had doubtless contributed their share to the fleets of the former expeditions, played an important part. A ship canal was dug through the peninsula of Mount Athos and a bridge of boats constructed over the Hellespont, in both of which operations their workmen showed the greatest skill, and in the war fleet of 1,200

vessels the Phœnician ships were the most numerous and the best manned. Accordingly they got the brunt of the work, and at Salamis had the honour of being pitted against the Athenians, who were the best fighters in the Greek fleet. Owing to the narrowness of the seas the Phœnicians were beaten with the rest; and Xerxes, in his rage, threatened them so violently that they are said to have left the fleet and returned home.

After Salamis the Phœnicians were for a time not quite so forward in helping Persia, but the feeling of chagrin wore off, and they continued to play an important part on critical occasions. At the battle of Eurymedon where Cimon gained 466.
so great a victory for the Athenians, many Phœnician vessels were engaged, and indeed for a long time the Phœnicians were Persia's chief support in her naval warfare. But for them the Persians could neither have governed the cities of the Asiatic Greeks nor held the balance of power between the Greek states.

Twice at least the Phœnicians were useful to the Athenians, helping them to win the important battle of Cnidus, in 394.
which fell the Spartan power in Asia, and next year aiding them to rebuild the long walls which had been destroyed at the end of the Peloponnesian war.

The power of Persia was now, however, on the wane. Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) had succeeded to the throne, and his brother Cyrus, determining to wrest the crown from him, marched on Babylon with an army of which the principal fighting corps consisted of 13,000 Greeks. Cyrus was killed 401.
at Cunaxa, and the Greeks had to fight their way home again from the very heart of Persia. They did this successfully, and the fact that such a thing could be done greatly lowered Persian prestige.

Not long afterwards Evagoras of Cyprus revolted against Persia and held his own for ten years, carrying his arms to the mainland, and capturing Tyre, perhaps with the connivance of a section of the people, but Artaxerxes made a great effort

and defeated him, permitting him however to retain his position as king.

During the reign of Darius Nothus, the predecessor of Artaxerxes, Egypt had thrown off the Persian yoke, and Artaxerxes sent an army to bring it again under subjection.

375. The army was under the joint leadership of Iphicrates, an Athenian general, and Pharnabazus, a Persian, but owing to disagreement between them they achieved nothing, and the expedition had to retire. After this there was a revolt of the satraps of Asia Minor, and an invasion of Syria by Egypt; and, though these came to nought, yet in the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Persia was much less powerful.

359. When Ochus succeeded to the throne (after several assassinations), reigning as Artaxerxes III. he determined to reconquer Egypt, which had now been independent for about half a century. Nectanebo was the reigning Pharaoh and Ochus marched against him, but he had obtained the help of Greek generals and met his adversary boldly—defeating him in the field. This reverse encouraged further disaffection and Phœnicia declared for independence. The revolt was headed by Tennes II., king of Sidon, who persuaded the other cities to follow his lead and made alliance with Nectanebo, obtaining from him a band of Greek mercenaries under Mentor, a Rhodian. Thus aided Tennes drove the Persians out of Phœnicia and nine chief cities threw off their yoke. Ochus, recognising the serious nature of the revolt, invaded Phœnicia with 300,000 men, at the approach of whom Tennes lost courage, and concerted measures with Mentor for the betrayal of Sidon to the enemy. It is likely enough that Mentor had been bribed by the Persians already, because soon after we find him transferring himself and his mercenaries to Ochus, and he had the command of the Greek mercenaries in the campaign against Egypt which followed. The result of Tennes' cowardice was terrible. Ochus obtained entrance into the city, and the Sidonians, having tried in vain to make terms, in despair shut themselves into

their houses and set fire to the city—40,000 persons perishing in the dreadful conflagration. After the destruction of Sidon Tennes was executed by the Persians, so that he gained nothing by his treachery.

The fate of Sidon cowed the Phœnicians, and Ochus was able to turn his arms against Egypt, which he speedily reconquered. The Phœnician cities had now peace for a time, and trade once more flourished, and though the leadership passed to Tyre, Sidon was rebuilt, and had some share in the general prosperity.

CHAPTER VI.

DESTRUCTION.

336. Darius Codomannus ascended the Persian throne just before Alexander succeeded to that of Macedonia. The Persians had been preparing to meet an invasion by Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander, but thought that with his death danger had passed away. The rapid success of the young king in Thrace, Illyria and Bœotia undeceived them, and preparations for defence were resumed. Had Darius been wise he would have tried to prevent Alexander from crossing the Hellespont, for he could easily have gathered a much greater fleet than Alexander possessed. But though he had given instructions to the Phœnicians to prepare a fleet, no effort was made to bring it up at the critical moment, and the Macedonians crossed unopposed.

333. The defeat of the Persians at the battle of the Granicus and the subjugation of Asia Minor quickly followed, then came the battle of Issus, and Darius was in headlong flight. Alexander had now to choose whether he would at once pursue the king eastward, or first subdue Phœnicia and Egypt. The latter, though the more tedious, was the safer course, for so long as Phœnicia was under Persian influence there was little to hinder Darius from opening up communication with Southern Greece and fomenting rebellion there against his enemy. Alexander knew that Persian gold was more potent than the Persian sword; and, therefore, leaving Darius to gather another army at his leisure, he determined to first subjugate the seaboard provinces.

Accordingly he marched southward, and the Phœnician

cities, recognising the decisive character of the battle of Issus, surrendered—Tyre amongst the rest. Unfortunately a dispute arose with the Tyrians, because Alexander demanded permission to sacrifice in their temple of Melkarth; and they, fearing he would leave a garrison in the city, refused to admit him, whereupon in great wrath he determined to enter by force. It would have been wiser had the Tyrians yielded the point, but Alexander's prowess had not yet been fully tested, and they knew that their city was not easily captured. Their fortifications were powerful, they had command of the sea, Darius would surely come to their aid, and perhaps Carthage, now a very great city, might help them, so they sent their aged citizens and many of their women and children to Carthage, and prepared to offer a stout resistance. But the fates were against them. Neither Darius nor the Carthaginians put in an appearance. Alexander built a mole from the mainland to the city and gathered a great fleet, compelling the other Phœnician cities to supply ships to fight against their friends. The Tyrians resisted with the utmost heroism, and the siege was as desperate in character as the later sieges of Carthage and Jerusalem. But all was in vain: the mole was finished, and the city assaulted by land and sea. The carnage was terrible, most of the Tyrians fell with arms in their hands, those who were taken prisoners were crucified, the women, children and slaves sold to the highest bidder. After the carnage Alexander performed the religious ceremony upon 332.
which he had set his heart, and athletic sports brought the drama to an end.

Alexander had no more trouble with the Phœnicians during the remainder of his brief career, and on several occasions they were useful to him. Their nautical skill helped him in his voyage down the Indus, and their sailors accompanied Nearchus with the fleet which sailed from the Indus through the Persian Gulf to Babylon. After Alexander's return to Babylon he determined to explore the seaboard of Arabia, and it is even thought that he proposed to circumnavigate Africa.

Vessels were built in Phœnicia and carried in sections to the Euphrates, where they were put together and brought down to Babylon. With this fleet and the aid of the Phœnicians Alexander would probably have accomplished much, but death
323. claimed him before his schemes could be carried into effect.

His empire was divided amongst his generals, and Phœnicia fell to Laomedon, but in a year or two, Ptolemy, to whom Egypt had fallen, attacked Laomedon, and seized Phœnicia.
314. Some years later Ptolemy was in his turn attacked by Antigonus, and had to relinquish his ill-gotten possession. Strangely enough the only city that offered much resistance was Tyre, which though destroyed by Alexander only eighteen years before had so far recovered that it held out against Antigonus for fifteen months, and then only surrendered
287. because provisions had failed. About thirty years later Phœnicia again fell under Egyptian rule, and so remained for seventy years. It then became for a time the battle-ground
198. of Egypt and Syria, after which it passed finally into the hands of the latter power.

Times had now greatly changed for the Phœnicians from a commercial point of view. For many centuries they had been without rivals; then the Greeks had pushed them from the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Romans from the West. During his residence in Egypt Alexander had founded the city of Alexandria, and it had made progress and was cutting Phœnicia out of much of her Egyptian trade. All this, however, Phœnicia could have surmounted but for the repeated destruction of her cities, and the war and pillage to which she had been so frequently subjected. Nevertheless she did her best, and under the Seleucidæ prospered to some extent, Tyre being still famous for her dyes and Sidon for the manufacture of glass. At last the kingdom of the Seleucidæ came to an end. Their subjects had sought the help
83. of Tigranes, king of Armenia, and he governed the country for some years, until Rome, offended by his action during the Mithridatic war, compelled him to retire from Syria,

placing Antiochus Asiaticus, a member of the family of the Seleucidæ, in his place. The restoration was a failure, and in a few years Rome again came forward, and the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, including Phœnicia, became a Roman province ; 65. the towns of Tyre, Sidon and Tripolis being allowed the privileges of free cities, with their own magistrates and councils.

Under the Romans, the Phœnician cities prospered in a measure, and, indeed, Tyre and Sidon were flourishing cities even in the time of the Crusades, but the history of the Phœnicians as a people ends with their absorption by Rome. Nor had their mission in the world been unfulfilled. They had done a great work as pioneers of commerce and civilisation. For more than a thousand years they had been the world's greatest traders, not striving to extend commerce by increasing territory, nor seeking to establish a kingdom by blood and iron, but paying honestly for such territory as they required, and winning their way amongst the races of mankind by the material benefits which they conferred. When other nations fancied that glory could only be found on the field of battle, the Phœnicians were finding a more enduring glory by feats of exploration ; when they thought wealth must be amassed by murder and pillage, the Phœnicians were showing how a people might become rich by patient continuance in well-doing. Though they had to contend against many natural disadvantages, and were exposed to much brutality from more powerful but less deserving nations, they taught the world a lesson which can never be forgotten, and which is unfortunately as much needed to-day as it was when Phœnicia began to teach it—fifteen centuries before the Christian era.

CARTHAGE.

CARTHAGE.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF CARTHAGE.

The date of the foundation of Carthage is generally placed 853.
a century before that of Rome and this is probably as good an approximation as we need desire in a matter so indefinite. Carthage is said to have been founded by the Tyrians, and though by no means their oldest colony it became their greatest. Both Gades in Spain and Utica in Africa were founded centuries before Carthage; but it became rich and powerful, and soon threw the other colonies into the shade.

The story runs that a king of Tyre named Pygmalion murdered his sister's husband, the priest of Melkarth, for the sake of his treasure, upon which his sister Elissa fled, carrying the treasure with her. She was accompanied by a number of leading Tyrians, and after touching at Cyprus they went on to Utica, and, settling near that city, built Carthage.

Carthage was burnt to the ground by the Romans after it had been in existence seven centuries, and in the conflagration its libraries and records perished. The few books saved were thoughtlessly scattered by the Romans, and of what was probably a considerable amount of literature, only a few treatises survived—a work upon agriculture in twenty-eight books by Mago, which was translated into Latin by order of the Senate, and afterwards into Greek, and two books of travel. For our knowledge of Carthage therefore we are dependent mainly upon the writings of Roman authors, who generally wrote in a hostile spirit. In reading their comments we have

to bear this in mind, remembering also the words of Cicero when he says: "Neither could Carthage have maintained her eminent position for 600 years had she not been governed with wisdom and high statesmanship".

There was an essential difference between the lines of foreign policy laid down by Tyre and by her great colony. The Tyrians did not force trade upon any unwilling people. Unless the advantages which they could confer by trading made them welcome, they went elsewhere. The world was wide enough to furnish a market for their wares, and if one nation declined to deal with them another would. When they were attacked they fought tenaciously, but they were too wise to think that commerce and the sword should go hand in hand. With the Carthaginians it was otherwise. Whilst willing to be peaceful, and eager to trade, the lust of empire took possession of them, and the wealth they made in commerce was thrown away in war.

The Phœnicians had traded for centuries before Carthage was founded, and had occupied many prominent places in the Mediterranean before any competitors appeared on the scene. The coast of Sicily was dotted with Phœnician depôts, and the island being fertile, there was a lively trade. Gradually, however, the Greeks pressed forward, founding colonies both there and in Italy. Naxos, Syracuse,
735. Catania and Leontini were thus founded, and later Gela, Himera and other cities. The Phœnicians did not care to fight with the Greeks about Sicily, and retired gradually before them; but the Carthaginians were not so complaisant, and though they withdrew from the eastern portion of the island they held the western portion fast. It would have been better for Carthage had she let Sicily go. Her history is little more than the record of a struggle to keep her footing there, first with the Greeks and afterwards with the Romans, a struggle which cost her, during its progress, more than the commercial value of the island, and ended with her destruction.

As Carthage grew in importance she gradually took the place in the Western Mediterranean which had been occupied by Tyre; but the relations between the mother country and her colony remained friendly throughout. Carthage sent a voluntary tribute to the temple of Melkarth from time to time; and when Cambyses conquered Egypt, and wanted the Phœnicians, who formed the major portion of his fleet, to help him to conquer Carthage, they refused. Later, when Tyre was besieged by Alexander and was in extremity, the Tyrians sent their wives, children and old men to Carthage for refuge.

The religion of the Carthaginians, like that of Tyre, amounted largely to a deification of the powers of nature. Their chief deities were Moloch, the sun god; Ashtaroth or Venus, the moon god, known to them as Tanit; and Dagon, the fish god. They worshipped Moloch with human sacrifices, not often perhaps, but at times of national peril. The Druids did much the same.

The government of Carthage was a timocracy—an oligarchy based upon wealth. There were two elective magistrates at the head, but most of the power was in the hands of an assembly known as "The Hundred," vacancies in which were filled by co-option. The oligarchy must have given satisfaction on the whole; for whereas, in the Greek and Sicilian cities revolutions were of frequent occurrence, it was not so in Carthage. Aristotle tells us that the Carthaginians were "a well-governed people," and that their government "deserved to stand in high repute". Carthage was not happy in the management of her dependencies. She had, at one time or another, many of these. The islands of the Western Mediterranean; settlements in Spain; numerous colonies on the African coast, stretching almost to the equator; cities in Sicily; and most of the earlier Phœnician settlements fell under her power and paid her tribute. The African tribes who surrounded the city were little better than slaves, and wealthy Carthaginians worked their estates and mines by slave labour. These Libyan subjects had no love for Carthage, they quickly deserted her

standard, and even took up arms against her when opportunity arose.

Carthage was a great city, perhaps one of the greatest cities of antiquity. Its commerce was wonderful, it had splendid harbours, was strongly fortified with triple walls, and contained before its destruction, and after it had passed through much trouble, a large population. The citizens of Carthage are said to have numbered 700,000, but in this figure the whole province must have been included, as the city proper could scarcely have contained more than 250,000.

The Carthaginians were great explorers and founded many colonies. We have records of two expeditions under-
500. taken in the fifth century before the Christian era, to the west coast of Europe and Africa respectively. The description of the European voyage of exploration is unreliable, but that of Hanno down the coast of Africa has many marks of authenticity. It would seem that Carthage was greatly overcrowded, and Hanno carried in his fleet 30,000 half castes and settled them at favourable places on the Atlantic seaboard. He passed the Senegal River, and must have reached the Cameroons, for he describes a volcano which is to be found in that mountain range. Hanno also discovered the "gorilla," the name now so familiar occurring first in the Greek description of his voyage. About a century before
600. this expedition, the Canaanitish Phœnicians had, at the instigation of Pharaoh Necho, circumnavigated Africa, so that the two most daring voyages of antiquity were undertaken, the one by the Phœnicians, the other by their colonists the Carthaginians.

CHAPTER II.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE GREEKS.

THE earliest recorded conflict between the Greeks and Car- 600.
thaginians was at Marseilles, a city which the Phocæan Greeks had established, and which had become so prosperous as to arouse the jealousy of Carthage. The Carthaginians accordingly attacked it, but were worsted.

Somewhat later the Carthaginians joined hands with the 536.
Etruscans to prevent the Phocæans from settling in Corsica, and the allies were successful, although not without a struggle.

The first conflict on a grand scale between Greeks and 480.
Carthaginians was in Sicily, and contemporaneous with the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. So remarkable a coincidence could not have been undesigned. Xerxes knew that Gelo, the ruler of Syracuse, had a large army and had been asked by the Greeks to help them against the Persians. Nothing is more likely, therefore, than that Xerxes arranged through the Phœnicians that their colonists should invade Sicily and give Gelo work to do at home. With this aim a vast Carthaginian army landed at Panormus (Palermo) and marched on Himera under a general named Hamilcar, intending to conquer the island. It was attacked, however, by Gelo of Syracuse and Thero of Agrigentum and utterly routed, Hamilcar himself being slain; and about the same time, at Salamis, the forces of Xerxes were overthrown.

About seventy years after Salamis, the Athenians, tempted 415.
by the inhabitants of Egesta, invaded Sicily, but their armament was destroyed at Syracuse, and the Egestians, undeterred by 410.

the misery which they had brought upon the Athenians, next appealed to the Carthaginians for help. The Carthaginians, after some hesitation, again invaded Sicily, and this time they were successful. The army was commanded by a grandson of Hamilcar named Hannibal, who thought he had wrongs to avenge. He did this in barbarous fashion, destroying the cities of Selinus and Himera, slaughtering most of their inhabitants and selling the rest into slavery.

Three years later he returned to Sicily, destroyed Agrigentum, Gela and Camarina, and conquered most of the island.
405. Syracuse itself seemed likely to fall, but the plague attacked Hannibal's army, and he was glad to make peace with Dionysius, the ruler of Syracuse, and return to Africa. His army brought the plague with it, and it wrought such havoc in Carthage that the Greek cities in Sicily were tempted to rise against their conquerors, and were so successful that only a few strongholds on the western end of the island were
397. left to the Carthaginians. They had, however, large resources, and another army of mercenaries and Carthaginians crossed under Himilco, reduced the revolted cities and again besieged Syracuse. But once more the plague broke out, and Himilco was driven to such straits that he fled with his Carthaginian troops, leaving the mercenaries to their fate. The Carthaginians made various attempts during the next few years to extend their influence in the island, whilst Dionysius tried to drive
383. them out; but at last the war was ended by a treaty fixing the river Halycus as the boundary between the rival powers, and this division held good for a century.

348. An important event during the next half century was the conclusion of a treaty between Rome and Carthage. Rome had passed through a crisis—the city having been burnt by the Gauls. She soon recovered her power on the land, but she had little naval strength, and the treaty was decidedly in favour of Carthage. The Romans were precluded from sailing westward beyond Fair Promontory, but received trading privileges in Carthaginian Sicily, Africa and Sardinia, while

the Carthaginians were to trade freely with Rome and not to injure the towns on the coast.

Dionysius of Syracuse was succeeded by an incapable son, and when Carthage resumed her aggressive attitude in the island, she seemed likely to conquer all its cities—Syracuse amongst the rest. Alarmed at this state of affairs, the Syracusans appealed to Corinth, their mother city, and Timoleon was sent to help them out of their difficulties. He managed matters so adroitly that the Carthaginians went home of their own accord, thus giving him time to set the affairs of Syracuse in order. They determined, however, to 340.
make another effort to conquer the island, and landed a large army at Lilybæum. Timoleon had difficulty in raising an army one-fifth the size of the Carthaginian, but he marched boldly to meet them, and routed them utterly, falling upon them as they crossed the river Crimesus in a flood. The losses of the Carthaginians in this battle were very heavy, and it was feared that Timoleon might even attack Carthage herself, but this he did not attempt. An army was afterwards sent under Gisco, but it achieved little, and the Carthaginians made a treaty with Timoleon which left matters much as they had been before, the territory west of the Halycus being still recognised as Carthaginian.

After Timoleon's death there was peace in Sicily for a time, and then Syracuse fell under a tyrant named Agathocles, who 310.
ruled so unscrupulously and banished so many of the citizens that the Carthaginians were appealed to for help against him. Agathocles was universally hated and lost all Sicily, except Syracuse, where he was hard pressed by the Carthaginians. In order to relieve the tension of the situation, the tyrant suddenly escaped from Syracuse with his fleet and invaded Africa. Winning his first battle by a lucky chance, he overran the country and captured city after city until Carthage stood almost alone. Hearing, however, that affairs at home demanded attention, Agathocles went back for a time, and during his absence his army had bad fortune. When he

returned, therefore, seeing no hope of success, he left Africa —abandoning his soldiers to their fate. The army, exasperated at his desertion, slew his sons and then made peace with the Carthaginians, some entering their service, the rest being allowed free passage to their homes.

Carthage had been terrorised by Agathocles for four years, and he had proved how easy it was to invade Africa.

281. After these events Italy was invaded by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, a kinsman of Alexander the Great, who burned to emulate his relative's conquests. He proposed to conquer Southern Italy, Sicily and Carthage, but he had not reckoned on the strength of Rome and he found her too hard for him.

278. After two campaigns in Italy he crossed to Sicily to help the Greek cities against Carthage, and he had much success at first, but interfering with the government of the cities he lost

276. popularity and went back to Italy, whence he soon after

275. returned to Epirus. Early in this war the Carthaginians had offered help to the Roman Senate, and though at first declined it was afterwards accepted, and the Carthaginian fleet attacked Pyrrhus when he was returning from Sicily and destroyed many of his vessels. Had Carthage known what the future held in store for her she might have left Rome to fight her own battles.

CHAPTER III.

THE BREACH WITH ROME.

THE war between Carthage and Syracuse for the possession of Sicily lasted a century and ended, after the expulsion of Pyrrhus, by leaving the greater part of the island in the 275.
hands of the Carthaginians. The war had been fought on both sides by mercenaries, many of whom had come from Campania, a district inhabited at that time by a somewhat reckless people. After the death of Agathocles a band of Campanian mercenaries seized the city of Messina, slew or 289.
expelled the citizens and established themselves in their houses, calling themselves "men of Mars," or "Mamertines," and living by brigandage and piracy.

The Mamertines proved dangerous neighbours to the Syracusans, plundering the small towns and infringing upon their territory, so that Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, took up arms against them, and besieged Messina. When the siege 270.
had lasted some time and the Mamertines saw that surrender was inevitable, they determined to call in a foreign power, and debated whether they would ask aid from Carthage or from Rome. They sent envoys to Rome, and the Romans after some hesitation took the gang of robbers under their protection. Meanwhile the Carthaginian party in Messina had sent news to Carthage of what was happening, and when the Romans arrived, they found the Carthaginians already in possession. The Roman consul Appius Claudius, refused to be foiled, and having got the Carthaginian general into his power he demanded the surrender of the city as the condition of his release.

The Carthaginians were so incensed with their general for thus allowing the Romans to wrest Messina from his grasp without a blow, that they executed him, and sent an army to endeavour to recapture the place. Hiero allied himself with the Carthaginians and attacked the Romans, whose presence in the island threatened Syracuse as well as Carthage. But the Romans proved stronger than the com-
263. bined forces, and at last Hiero submitted and became their ally. After this they made rapid progress, and soon the whole island, with the exception of certain maritime fortresses in which the Carthaginians were strongly entrenched, had passed under their power.

Carthage still ruled the seas, and when she found that her armies had been overmatched, she betook herself to her fleet, and gave the Romans infinite trouble by sudden descents upon the seaboard towns, not only in Sicily but in Italy itself. Before Rome could hold her own against Carthage she evidently required a fleet to protect her coasts, and if necessary carry the war into Africa. Now although the Romans had a mercantile marine, they had never been fond of fighting at sea and it was no easy matter for them to contest with the Carthaginians who were skilled sailors and well versed in the manœuvring and ramming tactics of the time. But the Romans adopted an expedient which made all the naval skill of the Carthaginians worthless and gave them unquestionable superiority. Each ship was fitted with a boarding bridge which swung round and grappled, by means of a sharp claw, with the ship of the enemy. As soon as two vessels drew together, the bridge was dropped, and Roman soldiers poured across, against whose superior strength and arms the half-naked Africans had no chance.

260. Encouraged by a great naval victory at Mylæ the Senate determined to carry the war into Africa itself, and sent Regulus
256. with an expedition. A fiercely-contested sea fight at Ecnomus resulted in the defeat of the Carthaginians, and the Romans landing in Africa began operations against Carthage.

So confident were they now of success that half the army was sent home—Regulus remaining with 15,000 men. It seemed as if the Romans must at once succeed, for the surrounding towns surrendered without a struggle, and the Numidians, who never loved Carthage, rose in rebellion. The Carthaginians lost heart, and sued for peace, but the conditions offered by Regulus were so severe that they resolved to fight to the bitter end. It happened just then that some Greek mercenaries came across, amongst whom was a Spartan captain named Xanthippus, and the control of military affairs was placed in his hands. Being an excellent general, he inspired them with so much confidence that they defeated 255.
Regulus in a pitched battle, made him prisoner, and nearly annihilated his army. The remnant of the Romans entrenched themselves at Clupea and were rescued by their fleet; but on their way home three-fourths of the vessels perished in a storm.

These favours of fortune so encouraged the Carthaginians that they again invaded Sicily, landing a strong force at Lilybæum. The Romans, though discouraged from further attempts to invade Africa, determined to keep Sicily and sent forces for that purpose; and after varied fortune and heavy losses at sea, they won a victory over the Carthaginians at 250.
Palermo. The very next year, however, they sustained reverses, losing a great part of their fleet—first in a sea fight at Drepanum, and afterwards in a storm.

The war between Rome and Carthage had now been dragging on for sixteen years, and the Roman losses by sea, land and sickness in Sicily, had been extremely heavy. So far as Carthage was concerned, the loss had been chiefly financial, as the African city carried on her wars largely by the aid of mercenaries; nevertheless she also was weary of the war, and for a while both sides showed slackness. During this period Carthage produced her first great general, Hamilcar Barca, who took over command in Sicily, settling with his forces on Monte Pellegrino and ravaging Sicily and the

coasts of Southern Italy at will. Hamilcar was more than a match for the Roman generals who were sent against him, and as the Carthaginians also held Lilybæum and Drepanum it seemed as if a few years more must see the Romans thrust out of Sicily. At last they made a determined effort to regain their supremacy. The treasury was exhausted, but private citizens came forward and raised a fleet of 200 vessels manned
241. by 60,000 men. The Carthaginians who had allowed their fleet to fall out of repair were taken by surprise and being easily defeated had no option but to conclude a peace, binding themselves to abandon Sicily and the adjacent islands, and to pay an enormous war indemnity. Thus after twenty-four years of fighting the first Punic war came to an end, and the Carthaginians formally surrendered an island they had partially occupied for 400 years.

They were not yet however free from trouble. Hamilcar's mercenaries, most of whom belonged to the desert tribes which surrounded the territory of Carthage, had for years received no wages, and he sent them back to Africa in small detachments, in order that they might be paid off and allowed to scatter to their homes. But the Carthaginian authorities foolishly waited until the whole army had landed, and then tried to curtail their pay and allowances, the result being a mutiny which quickly became an insurrection, and was not quelled without three years of bloodshed.

238. Whilst this war was in progress, Rome seized the Island of Sardinia, which had been Carthaginian for centuries, so that Carthage emerged from the struggle with the loss of two provinces and the burden of a war indemnity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE OF HANNIBAL.

After the war with Rome and the Numidian revolt Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, became the leading man in the state and commander in chief for all Africa. He felt that the peace with Rome could only be looked upon as temporary; for though the Romans were satisfied for the moment, the time would come when they would attempt the conquest of Africa, and the entire subjugation of Carthage. It was necessary therefore that Carthage should strengthen her hands and enlarge the area from which her resources could be drawn, yet it was hopeless to think of finding this enlargement in any part of the Mediterranean where Rome had already obtained a footing. Hamilcar's thoughts therefore turned to Spain, a country in which the Phœnicians had settled a thousand years before, and with which Carthage had trafficked for centuries. Surely in Spain his city might be permitted to work out her destiny without Roman interference.

Hamilcar marched from Carthage as if meditating conquest in Africa, but suddenly crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and 236.
landed in Spain. We have few details of his work there, but we know that for nine years he toiled, establishing a great province for his country; and not only supporting himself and his army, but sending home large sums of money to Carthage. When he fell in battle he left his son-in-law Hasdrubal to 228.
carry on his work, and he laboured for eight years more at the task of conciliation and consolidation, until Carthage had

in Spain a magnificent province and a rich field for enterprise.

For a time the Romans did not actively interfere, and when at length they sent commissioners to Spain to investigate, these were informed that the conquest was undertaken in order to provide means for paying the indemnity. With a view to possible eventualities they made alliance with two Greek towns on the coast, Saguntum and Emporiæ, and notified Hasdrubal of this, warning him at the same time not to push his conquests beyond the Ebro. After ruling the province for
220. eight years Hasdrubal was assassinated, and Hannibal, the eldest son of Hamilcar, was chosen general by the officers of the Spanish army.

This extraordinary man, now in his twenty-ninth year, had seen war from childhood, and had commanded the cavalry under Hasdrubal, his brother-in-law, since the death of his father Hamilcar. He had proved himself a splendid cavalry officer, and was about to prove himself a great general, one of the greatest the world has ever seen.

It is probable that Hamilcar had intended to invade Italy as soon as he became possessed of adequate resources. He had seen how vulnerable Carthage was when attacked, and how her subjects fell from her; and knowing that much of Italy had acknowledged the supremacy of Rome under compulsion, he hoped the subject states would fall from her in the same way if Italy were invaded. Seventeen years had passed since Hamilcar landed in Spain, and though he and his successor died before their plans could be carried out, they made them feasible by leaving to Hannibal a splendid province and a devoted and highly-trained army. Hannibal determined to lose no time in attacking Rome, and began by besieging Saguntum, the city with which the Romans were in alliance. Saguntum held out for eight months, so that a year was lost before Hannibal could prepare definitely for his attack upon Italy. The Romans evidently did not contemplate being attacked at home, but they sent envoys to Carthage to ask

whether it was by order of the government that Hannibal had attacked Saguntum, and as they got no satisfaction the second Punic war began. 218.

Hannibal's Spanish forces amounted to 140,000 men, and after he had sent a detachment to Africa for its protection, and left another with his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, he had 100,000 left for the invasion of Italy. He determined not to expose himself and his army to the perils of the sea, but to reach Italy by way of the Alps, and he had for some time been negotiating with divers Celtic tribes who had promised either neutrality or active assistance. Before he could reach the Alps he had to conquer Spain between the Ebro and the Pyrenees and to cross Southern France. The first part of the journey cost him dear, for the tribes were in arms, and before he reached the Pyrenees his army was diminished by one-fourth. At the Pyrenees he allowed all who were faint-hearted to return home, so that the army with which he entered France was only 60,000 strong.

During the progress of Hannibal's preparations the Romans had been culpably negligent, especially in connection with the siege of Saguntum. Had they sent an army to Spain to relieve the city, it would have made matters harder for Hannibal; and had they helped the native tribes when they opposed his march from the Ebro to the Pyrenees, he might never have dared to leave Spain. They at last determined to act, and sent Sempronius to Sicily to prepare for the invasion of Africa, whilst Publius Scipio went by way of Marseilles to invade Spain. When Scipio reached Marseilles he heard that Hannibal had already crossed the Pyrenees and was at hand. He therefore determined to contest the passage of the Rhone and made arrangements with the Celts to that effect, but Hannibal reached the river four days' march above the point where Scipio was stationed, and, outwitting the Celts on guard, crossed without loss and was three days' march forward on his journey before Scipio reached the ford. Accordingly he gave up the chase and sending the greater part of his army to Spain

under his brother Gnæus Scipio, returned with the rest to Italy to await the progress of events.

218. Meanwhile Hannibal was crossing the Alps, probably by the Little St. Bernard pass. This was the route usually taken by the Celts, but though one of the easiest passes, Hannibal found it hard enough. He had done his best to gain the friendship of the mountain tribes, but some of them were implacable, and much of the way had to be won by hard fighting. Apart from this, the natural difficulties to be overcome in getting an army with its horses, elephants and baggage over the mountains, were very great. The stories told by Livy about melting the rocks by fire and vinegar are pure imagination, but the crossing was an extraordinary feat, especially as it was performed in the beginning of winter by men accustomed to the genial warmth of Spain, and the burning sun of Africa. When at length the mountains were crossed, of the army which left France only one half descended into the plains of Hither Gaul, and these "looked not like men but like their phantoms or their shadows". Had the Romans been ready to attack the worn-out travellers as they descended, there could scarcely have been a doubt as to the result; but they were not there, and Hannibal had time to give his men much-needed rest.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

HANNIBAL had now about 30,000 men, an army incapable of itself performing the work which he had mapped out, but he confidently expected that the Celtic tribes of Cis-Alpine Gaul among whom he had descended, would rally to his banner from hatred to the Romans. He was disappointed at first, for the Taurini refused to join him, and he had to spend three days in capturing Turin their capital.

Publius Scipio, having landed at Pisa and collected forces, crossed the river Po and marched to meet Hannibal, whilst Sempronius, who had been recalled from Sicily, was hastening to effect a junction with him. At the Ticinus the cavalry of 218.
Rome and Africa met, and the Romans were worsted, Scipio himself being wounded in the encounter. Avoiding a general engagement, therefore, he fell back on Placentia, to await the arrival of his colleague. When Sempronius joined him the Romans were 40,000 strong, and though Scipio was still suffering from his wound, Sempronius determined to bring on a pitched battle, and Hannibal, who had accurate knowledge of all that was passing in the Roman camp, was nothing loth.

The river Trebia lay between the combatants, not deep, but swollen with rain, and very early in the morning Hannibal sent his light cavalry across to skirmish with the Romans and tempt them to pursue. The Roman light-armed troops, falling into the trap, chased the cavalry and suddenly found themselves in a position from which there was no escape, unless the heavy troops came to their support. These crossed and fought bravely, but wet and miserably cold could make but

a feeble stand against the vigorous and high-spirited forces of the enemy. The Romans were routed: the first division, 10,000 strong, cut its way through the Carthaginians and escaped to Placentia—the rest were either slaughtered or made prisoners. The season was far advanced, and with this decisive battle the first campaign came to an end, the remains of the Roman army sheltering in the fortresses, whilst Hannibal spent the winter resting his army and organising an insurrection amongst the Celtic tribes which spread with great rapidity. Such was the effect of the battle of the Trebia upon the Celts that more than 60,000 of them joined his army.

217. Although the news of this disaster caused annoyance in Rome, no one thought of serious danger, and Flaminius and Servilius, the new consuls, were sent in leisurely fashion to block the passes over the Apennines lest Hannibal should attempt to pass southward into Italy in the spring; or to cross and attack him in the valley of the Po, in the event of his remaining there on the defensive, which seemed more probable. The Romans did not yet understand the man with whom they had to deal. Hannibal had no intention of remaining on the defensive. He knew right well that the power of Rome was greater than that of any army he could bring against her, unless he could persuade her subjects to rebel. Now, so far as concerned the Celtic tribes he had done well enough. But the Celtic tribes were not properly members of the Roman confederacy: it was the Italians, and above all the Latins, who must help him if his enterprise was to be successful. It was no part of his programme therefore to remain north of the Apennines; and in the early spring, before the Romans deemed the roads passable, he marched southward. There were apparently but two roads a general could take in coming south, either by Ariminum or by Arezzo, so Servilius was posted at the former, Flaminius at the latter. But Hannibal found a third, and brought men down the western side of Italy by a road which led the armies for days through the marshes of the Arno. The march was most distressing, many died, and

Hannibal lost an eye through ophthalmia, but he gained his point and turned the Roman position. Flaminius had talked boastfully about what he would do if he were sent against Hannibal, and great was his chagrin at being outwitted. Hannibal, knowing his man, passed him as if he did not exist, and began pillaging the country on every side, until Flaminius lost patience utterly, and instead of waiting for the other consul to join him, marched rapidly after Hannibal. When Hannibal knew that Flaminius was giving chase he waylaid him, occupying the heights overlooking the road skirting the Trasimene Lake. The Romans marched into this valley in the morning mist, and suddenly found themselves surrounded on every side. Fighting was almost impossible, many were drowned in the lake, the rest were slaughtered. A few, six thousand in all, cut their way through and escaped, but only to be captured next day. Now at last Rome was roused to a sense of her danger. Etruria was lost, no army lay between Hannibal and the capital, and if he chose to march upon the city, there was nothing to bar his way. Fortifications were at once thrown up and manned, the bridges broken down, new legions levied. Hannibal, however, did not trouble himself about Rome, but marched east to the Adriatic where, in lovely weather and amidst pleasant surroundings, his troops reposed for a time.

The victories at the Trebia and on the Trasimene Lake gave Hannibal so much spoil that he was able to arm and organise his African soldiers on the Roman plan, and when he had done this at his leisure, he marched southward through the Samnian territory. He had expected much help from the Samnites, the fiercest foes with which Rome had contended in earlier times. But things had changed now, and Hannibal's heart must have sunk within him as town after town closed its gates. Then he thought that the Campanians might revolt, and so he marched towards Capua, but was again disappointed, and, turning eastward, he made his way to Apulia.

The Romans recovered from their fright and sent another army to try its fortune, commanded by Fabius, an old and obstinate but able general. Fabius, adopting a new policy, avoided a pitched battle, and tried to wear out Hannibal by watching him, cutting off stragglers and making it difficult for him to obtain supplies. At length, however, the Romans, tired of so much caution, appointed Minucius to an independent command with orders to hasten matters, whereupon he was tempted into battle, and would have been annihilated had not Fabius come to the rescue.

Notwithstanding this reverse the Senate determined to take
216. the offensive, and opened the next campaign by sending an army of 90,000 men against Hannibal, whose forces were not more than half that number. Hannibal had captured Cannæ, a Roman citadel, and the generals took up a position between Cannæ and the Carthaginian camp and offered battle. Hannibal's arrangement of his troops was masterly. The Romans advanced in deep files, Hannibal in the form of a crescent, the Celtic troops meeting the enemy first, the heavier troops who formed the horns of the crescent being drawn back. The Celts, unable to withstand the Roman legions, gradually retired, but as they did so, the horns of the crescent with Hannibal's African and Spanish troops closed, and soon the Romans found themselves hemmed in—front and flank. To make matters worse the heavy Carthaginian cavalry, having in successive charges scattered the Roman cavalry on both wings, once more wheeled and attacked the Romans in the rear. The rest was slaughter. The Romans, crowded in a mass, could not use their weapons and were cut down where they stood. In that battle fell the consul, Lucius Paulus; Servilius; the proconsul, Minucius; the flower of the Roman staff-officers, and 70,000 men. Now indeed was Rome shaken to her foundations.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

It is natural to wonder why Hannibal did not make a dash at 216.
Rome after Cannæ, and Maharbal, his cavalry officer, is said to have advised this course. Had he done so, he might by a lucky stroke have gained possession of the city, and been able to dictate his own terms to the enemy, but such good fortune was unlikely. Rome was well fortified and, though he had slain one-seventh of the Italians capable of bearing arms, every citizen was a soldier, and enough remained to stand a prolonged siege—a work for which his army had no aptitude even had it been large enough. On the other hand it seemed certain that the effect of Cannæ would be to break down the Roman confederacy and give Hannibal many allies; and for these he determined to wait. For a time it seemed as if his hopes were to be fulfilled, for many of the Bruttians, Lucanians, Apulians and Samnites declared in his favour, so that he had a large following in Lower Italy. Capua, the chief city in Campania and second city in Italy, also passed over to him, and as it could put 30,000 men in the field this was no small gain. But the Latin colonies in Southern Italy, the South Italian Greeks and the Greek cities of Campania, adhered resolutely to Rome. Had Hannibal's army been big enough to enable him to conquer these cities and garrison them in detail all might have been well, but it was not, and the hostility of so many important places made the friendship of the rest of little avail. At Rome the terrible misfortune of the battle of Cannæ sobered the people, hushed their political bickerings and restored the sense

of unity between rich and poor. The magnitude of the disaster was so great that there was hardly a house in which there was not one dead, and the common loss led to common sympathy. Reforms were set on foot in every department, and above all the practice of sending civil officers to command armies, regardless of military qualifications, was given up and experienced men chosen instead.

While his enemies were thus setting their house in order and preparing with stern purpose for the future, Hannibal failed to receive the reinforcements he had hoped for either from Spain or Carthage. His brother Hasdrubal was loyal to his interests in Spain and would gladly have sent help, but he had been worsted by the Scipios and they commanded all the routes by which he could have passed. The Carthaginians on the other hand were culpably negligent. Hannibal had a right to expect that they would at once send reinforcements on the most generous scale, but through political jealousy they deliberately refrained from so doing and contented themselves with wasting their strength in Sicily and sending him a miserable contingent of 4,000 men when they might just as easily have sent him 40,000. Had they from the beginning disavowed Hannibal and all his works, and told the Romans so, their position would have been intelligible; but they had not done this; they were actually at war with Rome in various places, yet they neglected Hannibal and thus sacrificed their greatest general, their best prospects, and, as it turned out, their existence itself.

The battle of Cannæ brought Hannibal's fortunes to a climax. Not that they at once began to fall. For thirteen years after that battle he remained in Italy, unconquered and unconquerable. But as time went on, and his resources steadily diminished whilst those of his antagonists increased, he knew that his great design, magnificently conceived and, so far as his own part was concerned, magnificently executed, had failed, and that the city which had given him birth, but which had proved unworthy of him, was doomed.

It is scarcely necessary to follow in detail the rest of Hannibal's career in Italy. His troops spent the winter after 215. Cannæ in Capua, and next year again took the field. The Romans began the campaign with three armies, and were so cautious that Hannibal made no further progress. On the field of battle he could hold his own with any and every foe, but when his enemies stood on the defensive his limited forces could accomplish little against them. He made an effort to obtain the help of Philip, king of Macedonia, but it came to nothing; in Sicily, Hiero, who had been so faithful an ally to Rome, died, and Hieronymus, his successor, declared for Carthage but was assassinated, and though the Romans had plenty of trouble in the island, no substantial help came to Hannibal from that quarter.

In Spain the struggle went on continually, and with many changes of fortune. Publius and Gnæus Scipio were there—such excellent generals and administrators that they almost drove the Carthaginians from Spain. They even fomented rebellion against them in Africa, so that Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, had to cross the straits. Hasdrubal was, however, successful in pacifying Africa; and returning with Massinissa, a brilliant African general, he defeated and killed 212. the Scipios and regained for Carthage all Spain south of the Ebro. Next year the Romans sent Claudius Nero to Spain, but he proved unsuccessful, so Cornelius Scipio, the son of Publius Scipio who had been slain, was appointed to the command—a young man afterwards destined to become famous as Scipio Africanus.

Cornelius Scipio began his career in Spain brilliantly, 209. surprising New Carthage (Cartagena) with the Phœnician war stores, and recovering a large section of Spain for Rome.

Next year Hasdrubal determined to help his brother at 208. all hazards, and accordingly set out on his march to Italy. Scipio is said to have worsted him at Baccula on the Guadalquiver, but the defeat cannot have been very serious, for

Hasdrubal went on his way to the Pyrenees, and in the spring
207. of the following year crossed the Alps.

Meanwhile Hannibal had barely held his own. Rome had now, in one place or another, 200,000 men in the field, and although the burden was heavy, she was slowly regaining what she had lost. Hannibal had a little good fortune from
212. time to time. He captured the important city of Tarentum, but failed to take the citadel, which remained in the hands of the Roman garrison. On the other hand he lost Capua, which was besieged by the Romans for two years, and which he in vain endeavoured to relieve. On one occasion he marched on Rome, hoping thus to induce the armies lying round Capua to leave their fortified lines, but they were too wary, and after encamping within five miles of Rome, he returned. When at last Capua fell, notwithstanding his best efforts, it was a sign to Italy that Hannibal had reached the limit of his power and that the end drew near. He did all he could, but his forces were not large enough to enable him both to win and to keep, and at last he had to withdraw to the south-west corner of the island.

207. This then was the condition of Hannibal's affairs when Hasdrubal crossed the Alps, and we can well understand how urgently Hannibal must have entreated him to come. The Romans, aware of Hasdrubal's intentions, made their preparations with care. Two armies were in the field, the army of the north under Livius waiting for Hasdrubal, whilst that of the south under Nero watched Hannibal. Hasdrubal sent a letter to his brother explaining his intentions and proposing a place of meeting, but the letter fell into the hands of Nero, who, profiting by the information gained, took 8,000 picked troops, hastened north, joined Livius, and came upon Hasdrubal at the Metaurus. The Carthaginian army, taken at a serious disadvantage, was destroyed, and Hasdrubal himself slain. Nero returned at once to the south and threw Hasdrubal's head to his brother's outposts. It was carried to Hannibal, and the brave general, his last hope gone, retired to

Bruttium, from the ports of which he could at will escape to Africa.

The defeat of Hasdrubal was a greater disaster to Carthage than it seemed. It destroyed Hannibal's hopes, about which the Carthaginians cared little, but it went further, for it made the loss of Spain a certainty, and the loss of Spain released Cornelius Scipio, the only general capable of undertaking the invasion of Africa. Scipio captured Gades and having driven Mago, the youngest brother of Hannibal, out of Spain, returned to Rome, where he was reappointed general with 206.
orders to carry the war into Africa.

The Carthaginians at last acted with vigour, sending Mago to Genoa to rouse the Celts, and sending reinforcements to Hannibal. But it was too late to help Hannibal, and too late to prevent invasion. Scipio made his preparations in leisurely fashion in Sicily, and landed unopposed near Utica 204.
with 30,000 men. Unfortunately the Carthaginians had alienated Massinissa, formerly so helpful to Hasdrubal in Spain, having taken Syphax, their former enemy, into favour and deprived Massinissa of his possessions. He now at once joined Scipio and became an invaluable ally.

Scipio was not at first successful, and had to entrench 203.
himself during the winter, but next year he surprised and burnt the Carthaginian camp and routed their forces. The peace party in Carthage now came forward, and Scipio, anxious to close the war, offered reasonable terms, and sent envoys to Rome to obtain their confirmation. But the Carthaginians, ever wavering, recalled Hannibal and Mago, and determined to try the fortune of war once more. Mago had been wounded and died on the voyage, but Hannibal came at once, "leaving," says Livy, "the country of his enemies with more regret than many an exile has left his own". It was thirty-six years since he had trod his native soil, fifteen of these years had been spent in Italy, and he had never been seriously defeated.

Hannibal did not at once meet Scipio in battle. He

wintered at Hadrumetum, and made efforts to win the Numidian chiefs to alliance. At last, however, the two great
202. generals met at Zama, and a decisive battle was fought. Much of Hannibal's army consisted of unseasoned Carthaginian troops, and although his veterans fought like lions, they could not prevail, and the Phœnician army was annihilated. Hannibal escaped to Hadrumetum with a handful of followers.

After such a battle there was nothing to be thought of but peace, and Scipio proposed terms which though severe were not unreasonable and do credit to his generosity. By these
201. terms, as they were afterwards definitely fixed at Rome, the Carthaginians had to give up all claim to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean, to recognise Massinissa as king of Numidia, to refrain from waging war, unless with the consent of Rome, and to pay a large indemnity. The second Punic war therefore left Carthage a town instead of an empire, and made Rome supreme in the Western Mediterranean.

CHAPTER VII.

DELENDA EST CARTHAGO.

THE enterprise begun by Hamilcar and carried on by Hasdrubal and Hannibal had ended disastrously for Carthage, and it would have been well had it never been undertaken. Yet we must remember that Hamilcar had conceived the foundation of the Spanish empire after Rome had unjustly interfered in Sicily, thrusting Carthage out of a province which she had held for 400 years. There is nothing to show that either Hamilcar or Hannibal contemplated the destruction of Rome. Their only desire was to humble her, to keep her ambition within proper limits, and to make good terms for their own state. It would not have been well had Africa triumphed over Europe, but it would have been better for Rome and for humanity had the city learnt humility at this stage in her history.

During the next half century Rome expanded greatly as an empire, but decayed in morality; she became mistress of the world, but lost the mastery over herself—earnest endeavour and patriotism making way for greed, selfishness and cruelty.

Hannibal was now the first citizen in Carthage, and he at once set himself to reform the abuses which existed in the state, filling up the council of "The Hundred" by election instead of co-option, and so improving the financial system that the Carthaginians scarcely felt the enormous indemnity which they had to pay. But in every state the reformer creates enemies for himself, and Hannibal's enemies are said to have wickedly accused him to the

Romans, as intending to make war upon them again. They therefore demanded his surrender, and as his friends were unable to protect him, he fled to Tyre and from Tyre to the court of Antiochus, king of Syria. After the defeat of the Syrians by the Romans, he took refuge in Bithynia and for some years was unmolested, but at last the hatred of the Romans followed him even there, and rather than become
183. a prisoner he took poison. Thus died at the age of sixty-four the greatest military genius of the ancient world, and in the same year died Scipio Africanus, the only man who could boast that he had vanquished him.

Carthage, like most great trading cities, recuperated rapidly after the cessation of war, for though she had lost her dominions she retained her trade. Had she been left alone, she would soon have been as formerly the first commercial city in the world, but this was not to be. There was a clause in the treaty which forbade her to declare war without the consent of Rome, and this clause prevented self-defence when the Carthaginians were attacked. Massinissa their neighbour did not hesitate to take advantage of their position, constantly encroaching upon their territory, and when they appealed to Rome they got no redress. Cato, a Roman senator, was sent at the head of a commission to settle one of these disputes. He was a miserably narrow-minded man, and when he saw how prosperous Carthage was, notwithstanding her reverses, he determined to compass her destruction, and from that moment no matter what the subject of his speeches might be, he ended them with the brutal words: "Also I say that Carthage must be destroyed".

151. At last the encroachments of Massinissa becoming unbearable, the Carthaginians took up arms against him, thus breaking the terms of the treaty. An embassy was sent to Rome to explain the circumstances, but the Romans had been waiting for the chance, Cato's persistence had carried the day, the fiat had gone forth, the city was doomed.

An army was prepared, and sent under Manilius and

Censorinus the consuls, nor did the Carthaginians know of a certainty that war had been declared until the fleet had sailed. 149. Even then they tried to bring the Romans to reason, humbling themselves in every way and sending envoys with power to make peace on any terms. The Senate promised to guarantee territory, freedom and property to the Carthaginians, if they would send 300 hostages, and perform whatever else the consuls demanded. The Carthaginians sent the hostages gladly, upon which the consuls demanded the disarming of the city. Had there been a statesman amongst the Carthaginians he would now have seen whither things were tending and would have refused to go further. But there was no master-mind in Carthage, and the council obsequiously surrendered all the arms in the city. When the surrender was complete the consuls announced that the city was to be destroyed, but that the inhabitants could settle wherever else they liked so long as it was ten miles from the sea-shore. Now indeed the Carthaginians saw how they had been betrayed, and sternly prepared for resistance, gaining time by pretended negotiations. The gates were closed, and night and day, men, women and children toiled, making arms to take the place of those which had been surrendered, so that when the consuls approached, hoping to enter without resistance, they found the battlements crowded with armed men. Carthage was a strong city, for it stood on a promontory surrounded on three sides by the sea, whilst on the landward side it was strongly fortified. The consuls had also to deal with inland forces, for the territory belonging to Carthage was still capable of keeping an army in the field. They therefore had no easy task to perform, their first efforts ended in failure, and had it not been for the ability shown by an adopted son of Scipio Africanus the expedition would have ended in disaster.

The consuls who had brought the army to Africa were 148. superseded by Piso and Mancinus, who were as unsuccessful as their predecessors, and but for intrigues and the absence of

generalship amongst the Carthaginians things might have gone badly for Rome.

147. At last the Romans lost patience and gave the command to Scipio, electing him consul before the usual time. With his appointment fresh energy was put into the siege; and discipline, which had become greatly relaxed, was re-established. The Megara, a quarter of Carthage inhabited by the wealthy classes, was captured, and the defenders had to abandon the outer works and congregate inside the city. The siege now became a blockade and in order more effectually to cut off Carthage from the outer world, Scipio constructed a mole which closed the harbour with the Carthaginians ships inside. With extraordinary pertinacity the Carthaginians made a new entrance and a new fleet, and but for short-sightedness, might have taken the Romans by surprise and destroyed their fleet. Unfortunately they missed the golden opportunity. The summer of that year passed away, and Scipio with all his genius had not made any very great impression upon the city, but during the winter famine and
146. pestilence did their work, so that when he renewed the attack in the spring his task proved more easy. First the harbour was captured, and then the streets were stormed during six days of fighting and massacre—the Romans only advancing step by step, so desperate was the resistance of the citizens. At last the citadel was reached, to facilitate his operations against which Scipio ordered that the surrounding streets should be burnt and levelled, and in the conflagration thousands who had concealed themselves in the cellars perished. A deputation came from the citadel to plead for mercy, and when Scipio granted bare life, 50,000 men, women and children issued forth. Only 900 Roman deserters remained, and these, knowing that there was no hope of mercy for them and maddened by famine, set fire to the temple in which they had congregated and perished in the flames. A considerable portion of the city still remained, and Scipio, willing to save it, sent to Rome for further instructions. Notwithstanding his

appeal and the earnest pleading of a few noble men, the Senate sent the pitiless command to destroy the city utterly, and to plough up the ground upon which it stood. The command was carried out, the ruins burned for seventeen days, and when all was silent, Scipio, by order of the Senate, pronounced a solemn curse upon any who should dare to rebuild the city. Rome had her wish—the long struggle was at an end—Carthage was no more.

GREECE.

GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLACE OF LEGEND IN GREEK HISTORY.

In most countries history is prefaced by legend, and generally the legend is of little value. But Greek legend is like no other—it is surpassingly beautiful and historically suggestive, and it may not be lightly brushed aside if we would appreciate the character, and understand the history of the race from which it sprang.

Not only do the legends prove to us that a thousand years before the Christian era there were, amongst the Greeks, poets of great merit, and that the Greek language was even then pure and beautiful, but they also teach us many things concerning the government, social life and religion of the Greeks at that early period. For experience shows that however freely a poet may idealise his characters, and give rein to his imagination in constructing his plot, he generally places his subjects in surroundings familiar to his readers and to himself.

The grandest of all the Greek legends are those of Homer which have come down to us in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* tells us how a Greek army, led by Agamemnon, crossed to the Asiatic coast and laid siege to Troy. The siege lasted for ten years, and the city, taken at last by stratagem, was destroyed, but some of the inhabitants escaped, amongst whom was Æneas who is said in later legends to have landed in Italy and founded the Latin race.

That such a city as Troy really existed there can be no

doubt, for the remains of temples, and objects of art, have been found by explorers on its reputed site, but it must have been a small place and the story is mainly imaginary. Nevertheless the *Iliad* gives us a graphic picture of Greek life in time of war, whilst the *Odyssey*, which relates the travels of Ulysses, tells us much about the home life of the people. From varied evidence, and particularly from the political geography of these poems, we know that they must have been written before the eleventh century, and thus, though they are not themselves historical, they furnish an invaluable record of the manners and customs of the Greeks at that time.

1100. We know then, that at that early date, Greece was inhabited by scattered tribal communities acknowledging kinship but maintaining autonomy. These were governed by kings of the patriarchal type, the king being also priest, judge and commander-in-chief. As the communities were small, he was not greatly elevated above his neighbours, but was entitled to certain dues and a suitable share of the public land. Apart from this he was like the others, keeping little state, having few attendants, and labouring with his hands. In later Greek society the institution of slavery corrupted the people, and led them to despise manual labour, but in early times a man skilful with his hands was highly esteemed—the king followed the plough, and the princess superintended her maidens when they dressed the linen.

Next to the king came the nobles or elders, the heads of the principal families, with whom he took counsel in important matters, and after these the rest of the people, sometimes small landowners, sometimes poor and working for hire. When matters of high importance were on hand the people were summoned; and when the decision come to by the king and his council had been proclaimed, the assembly showed its approval by shouts, its disapproval by silence.

Domestic life was somewhat refined in character. Polygamy was rare, the force of parental authority great, women

were respected, and the mother occupied a position of dignity.

There were slaves, mostly captured in war, but in early times they were not numerous, and they seem to have been well treated on the whole.

There was, of course, a dark side to the picture. Might was right, war was prosecuted with cruelty, the dead bodies of enemies were mutilated, plundering was common on shore, piracy on sea.

In those early days the Greeks had not taken to commerce. Even then the Phœnicians were great mariners, planting colonies, exploring every likely inlet, bartering the wares of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and their own cities, for minerals, timber, wool, and the shell-fish from which the dye was extracted for which they were so famous. The Greeks were agricultural and pastoral, but coming into contact with the Phœnician merchants, they learned shipbuilding and navigation, and soon vied with their instructors in seamanship and enterprise.

From the poems we also learn much concerning the religion of the Greeks. They worshipped many gods, and their gods were after the likeness of human beings. The chief deities were those of Olympus, of whom Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, Hephæstos and Hermes were gods, whilst Here, Athene, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hestia and Demeter were goddesses. There were many other deities and demigods, and monsters like the Gorgons and the Harpies.

The Greek legends taught that the gods had made five distinct races of men. First came the golden race, not men made of gold, but men with qualities so precious that the gods had taken them up to be with themselves. Next they made the silver race, men of a lower type, reckless mischievous men, with whom Zeus so lost patience that he removed them from the earth. Then came the brazen race, men so fond of fighting that they killed each other; and after this the heroic race, of whom were the heroes who fought at Troy. These

also having passed away, the gods made the iron race at present existing, but destined to be removed by Zeus in its turn.

It was upon legend of this sort that the Greeks built up their early history; by their legends they explained the origin of everything; legends formed the chief part of their mental stock, impressed moral lessons and kept patriotism and the feeling of unity alive. How such beautiful fables, which were not only appreciated at that time but have been the delight of the world ever since, could have been produced by a primitive people is a mystery; but there they are, and it must have been largely owing to their educational influence that Greece reached such a pitch of excellence in poetry, architecture, sculpture and philosophy.

No doubt as thought advanced and the philosophers of whom we have heard so much came to the front, educated men ceased to believe in the historical value of the ancient stories, but the mass of the people long clave to them as truths. Naturally enough those legends lived longest which were connected with specific localities and brought reputation and wealth to the residents. For example, Delphi, a small town in Phocis, had the world-renowned oracle of Apollo; Eleusis, a town of Attica, gave its name to the Eleusinian mysteries; Delos, a small island in the Ægean Sea had its special sanctity, and so on. In its inception, Greek paganism was the offspring of poetic fervour, but when once a legend got well started self-interest kept it alive.

Faith in these legends was by no means confined to the Greeks. Xerxes, the Persian monarch, and Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror, visited Ilium, which claimed to be the site of Troy. The Romans were proud to speak of Æneas as their forefather, and when at war in Troas they spared Ilium because of the legend which connected them with the place.

There was another story about Prometheus, one of the gods, who, having aroused the wrath of Zeus, was chained to a rock for thousands of years, and when Pompey, invading

Asia was near the Caucasus with his army, he made a detour for the purpose of seeing the rock.

Another fable told of a monster called the Minotaur which had lived in a labyrinth in Crete feeding on youths and maidens, until at last it was destroyed by Theseus. The ship in which Theseus was believed to have made his auspicious voyage was still to be seen in the time of Socrates, and was sent annually from Athens to Delos with an offering. During the absence of the vessel it was unlawful to put any one to death, and for this reason the execution of the great philosopher was postponed for thirty days.

The Greeks got their alphabet from the Phœnicians. The art of writing was little practised amongst the early Greeks, and it is thought that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may not have been committed to writing until the seventh century, in which case they must have been carried in the memory of the popular reciters or "rhapsodists" for hundreds of years. As time went on and men began to see that the myths and legends could not be true, they talked of them as allegorical, but this belief leads to as much confusion as the other, and it is best to treat them as poetical fancies which must be kept separate from either history or philosophy.

CHAPTER II.

THE DAWN OF THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

776. THE first specific date in Grecian history is 776 B.C. The ruins which have been discovered prove that there were powerful kings in Greece long before that time, and that Homer's works had been in existence for several centuries; nevertheless that date is taken as the starting point of the historic period. The reason is curious. Games were held at Olympia, a city in Elis, on the river Alpheus, in the west of Peloponnesus, and the name of the winner of the foot race was engraved on stone by the Elians who had the management of the festival. The first winner recorded was Corœbus, a local champion, and this was the date. At first these games were only of local interest, but later they became of national importance, and the Greeks began to calculate time by four year intervals or "Olympiads".

The Greeks, or more properly the Hellenes, were like ourselves a branch of the Indo-European family. Homer gives us our first glimpse of Grecian geography, and his map of Greece is very different from that which would have been drawn in 776 B.C.

"The Dorian and Ionian names, which were afterwards so famous, are hardly known; the name of Hellenes itself belongs only to a small district. The names of the whole people are Achaians, Argeians (Argos seeming to mean all Peloponnesus), and Danaoi, the last a name which goes quite out of use in historic times."

"Attica, as a land, is not mentioned," but Athens is and Salamis. In Peloponnesus, "the ruling city is Mycenæ,

whose king holds also a general superiority over all Hellas, while his immediate dominion takes in Corinth, Cleonæ, Sicyon, and the whole south coast of the Corinthian Gulf—the Achaia of later times. The rest of the cities of the Argolic peninsula are grouped round Argos. Northern Greece again is divided into groups of cities which answer to nothing in later times."

"We see the extent which Greek colonisation had already reached. It had as yet taken in only the southern islands of the Ægean. Crete was already Greek; so were Rhodes, Cos and the neighbouring islands; but these last are distinctly marked as new settlements. The coast of Asia and the northern islands are still untouched. The Macedonian name is not found. The northern islands of the Ægean are mentioned only incidentally."

According to tradition the Hellenic race had four tribal divisions, Æolian, Dorian, Achaian and Ionian. Of these, the Æolians are supposed to have settled originally in northern Greece, in Thessaly and Ætolia; the Dorians in the middle; the Ionians in Attica; the Achaians in Peloponnesus.

Between the Homeric and historic periods, that is, between the eleventh and eighth centuries, considerable migrations must have taken place. The warlike tribes who dwelt in the highlands of Epirus invaded central Greece, thrusting out the Dorians, who in their turn invaded Peloponnesus where the Achaians dwelt. Some of the Achaians took refuge in the islands, some found a new home by driving out the Ionians from the cities on the Gulf of Corinth, others remained subject to the Dorians. These movements extended over centuries, and greatly changed the geography of Greece; Mycenæ, which had been the principal city, lost its importance; Argos, Sparta, Corinth and Sicyon became Dorian cities, and amongst these Sparta ultimately obtained the pre-eminence.

During this period, that is before the eighth century, many of the Ægean islands became Greek, and "the whole Ægean coast of Asia became fringed with Greek cities, Dorian to the south, Æolian to the north, Ionian between the

two". "By the eighth century these settlements had made the Asiatic coast and the islands adjoining it, a part, and a most important part, not only of the Greek world, but we may almost say of Greece itself. The Ionian cities, above all, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, and the islands of Chios and Samos, were among the greatest of Greek cities, more flourishing certainly than any in European Greece."

From Greece herself and from her colonies, other colonies sprang, so that at last not only the Ægean coast but the coasts of Thrace and Macedonia, the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Black Sea, were "dotted with Greek colonies," in some places, such as southern Italy and Sicily, very numerous, in other places lying farther apart.

These colonies were of course founded by slow degrees, but they are mentioned here in order that we may realise how widely Greece influenced the world. As time went on, indeed, the Greeks had established themselves on so many islands and vantage points of the coast, in the Ægean, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, that the peninsula which we now call Greece was but a portion of the Hellenic world. The name "Hellas," therefore, implied no geographical continuity, "wherever Greeks were to be found, there was Hellas"; and though there were numberless differences in character between the Greeks of various localities, all prided themselves on their Hellenic origin.

Indeed, however jealously the Greek communities might guard their autonomy, they could not fail to recognise how much they had in common. They had language in common, for though they spoke in various dialects they had the same mother tongue, and Greek could always understand Greek. They had heroic poetry in common, and the wonderful epic poems, recited at games and festivals, kept their language pure and their sympathies alive. They had religion in common, for though every city and hamlet had its patron deity, the gods were of one family, and the sacrifices and ceremonies were very similar. This unity of religion led to much social

intercourse. Particular localities were consecrated where Greeks assembled at the annual festivals, and on such occasions their persons were protected and between those who were at war there was a truce of God. This sort of gathering was called an Amphictyony, or union of neighbours, and there were many such. The most important was the Delphic Amphictyony to which Greeks gathered from all quarters for the worship of Apollo.

The temple where the Delphic Amphictyony assembled was ancient beyond historic knowledge, for even in the *Iliad* its wealth is spoken of. It was famous for the answers to questions which could be obtained there, supposed to be from the god, but really, of course, concocted by the priests. The answers were nevertheless frequently well worth having, for the priests were clever men who took pains to obtain the best information procurable upon all subjects, and as they generally knew beforehand when anything of importance was to be asked, they deliberated together as to what the answer should be, and when they were at a loss they took refuge in ambiguity and thus preserved their credit.

Consulting an oracle in important matters became a Greek habit, and the approval or disapproval of the god had an encouraging or discouraging effect as the case might be, so that the predictions of the oracle tended to fulfil themselves. An expedition which Apollo blessed was entered into with alacrity ; one against which he had raised his voice was gone about in a half-hearted way. In early times the priests worked the oracle with judgment, and on patriotic lines, but later they were known to be open to bribery, and the oracle lost credit.

In spite of what they had in common the Greeks suffered terribly from disunion. For this, however, they were not altogether without excuse. The Greek peninsula is exceedingly mountainous, and the mountains being rugged and precipitous, the country is divided into distinct sections, often with impassable barriers between. Thus from the nature of things the people lived in separate groups, and some who

were, as the crow flies, near neighbours, were so sundered by precipitous mountains that they rarely met. Each community occupied an isolated position, each safeguarded its own interest, and there was no strong central government to weld them into one. Nowadays when mechanical ingenuity has annihilated distance these obstacles may seem of little consequence, but in early times when men had to travel on foot or not at all, they formed considerations which account for much of the disunion and local selfishness with which Greek history abounds.

Anything which could draw Greeks together and remind them of their common origin was to be encouraged, and the Amphictyonies and religious festivals were useful on that account. The spirit of unity was also fostered amongst the Greeks by their fondness for athletic sports. Even in the Homeric times they were devoted to these, and their passion for them did not abate as time went on.

The most famous sports were the Olympian already mentioned, which drew spectators from all parts of Greece and from the colonies. The month during which these games were held was regarded as a national holiday, there was truce whilst it lasted, and persons travelling to and from Olympia were sacred.

The success of the Olympian games led to the establishing of others. The Pythian, celebrated near Delphi, were founded 585 B.C., and the Nemean and Isthmian still later. The Nemean and Isthmian did not become so famous as the others, but the Pythian contest held in every third Olympic year in such a central position, and near so important a temple, attracted a vast concourse.

Hence, although each community lived its own life and guarded its own independence, a Greek had frequent chances of mingling with his fellows, and seeing men of every sort. Aided by these favourable circumstances, and stimulated by the glorious epic poetry of their forefathers, the mental character of the Grecian peoples unfolded in a way which is unique in the world's history.

CHAPTER III.

SPARTA.

We have seen how in early times Dorian bands invaded Peloponnesus, subdued the inhabitants and seized their lands. At that time Mycenæ was the chief city in Peloponnesus, but after the Dorian immigration Argos became chief. We do not know much about the kings of Argos, but one of them named Pheidon is reputed to have been a conqueror, and to have attempted to bring the whole of Peloponnesus under his sway.

Another Dorian band settled in Sparta, a small city in Laconia. They were not numerous, their territory was narrow and circumscribed, and being hemmed in by the people whom they had dispossessed, they found it hard to live. Besides the difficulties from without, the Spartans suffered greatly from anarchy within their own State, for they had two kings, and the royal houses were continually quarrelling, either with each other or with the nobles who endeavoured to limit their prerogatives.

Hence, during a time of special trouble, a citizen named Lycurgus was commissioned to undertake the reform of the constitution. He did so, proposing a series of institutions which were accepted by the people, and brought about important changes both of a political and social character.

Politically, Lycurgus limited the power of the kings, systematised the aristocratic councils, and gave the people a voice in the elections.

Sparta's political constitution had, however, nothing to do with its greatness, but the social changes which are attributed

to Lycurgus, proved of far-reaching consequence. As Sparta was small and surrounded by enemies, he conceived the idea of making it a purely military state. Every species of industry was forbidden to the citizens—they neither trafficked nor tilled the ground; their whole life was a preparation for war, and every Spartan became a soldier.

At the age of seven, the Spartan boy was taken over by the state, and from that moment his life became a round of drill and discipline. He went barefoot and with a single garment; slept on rushes; was purposely underfed in order that he might be forced to supplement his meagre diet by hunting or theft, and endured every form of privation and punishment until he became utterly callous in body and soul. At twenty, he joined the public mess and lived on barley meal and black broth, at thirty he married, but even then might not live at home. Discipline went on just the same, he slept in barracks and dined at the public table. If he survived to the age of sixty, he might go home and spend the evening of his days in peace. It was well said that "a Spartan's life was made so unpleasant for him that he threw it away without regret in battle".

By this severe discipline the Spartans became splendid animals, and as they developed an excellent military organisation, and had a well-trained army at a time when the other Greeks still fought in untrained masses, they vanquished their enemies with comparative ease.

First they conquered the inhabitants of Laconia amongst whom they dwelt. Of the conquered some who were called "Perioeci" (dwellers around), were permitted to retain their lands, paying a fixed tribute and supplying hoplites (heavily-armed soldiers) in time of war. The rest, called "Helots," were reduced to the condition of serfs, their lands being divided amongst the Spartans for whom they worked as slaves on plantations. The condition of the Perioeci was tolerable, and they remained faithful to Sparta, but the Helots were only kept in subjection by systematic oppression

and gross cruelty. A Crypteia, or secret police existed, which murdered any Helot who seemed likely to prove dangerous. In time of war, the Helots accompanied the army as light-armed soldiers, and bitterly as they hated the Spartans they never revolted on the field of battle.

When the Spartans had consolidated their power in Laconia, 743. they attacked the Messenians. Two desperate wars were to waged before this hardy race could be subdued, extending over 645 about a century, with an interval between the struggles. When at last conquered, the Messenians were treated as Helots, and remained in this condition for three centuries, when Epaminondas of Thebes overthrew the power of Sparta, and set them free.

Messenia having been absorbed, the Spartans attacked Arcadia, the central province of Peloponnesus, which lay north of Laconia, its chief town Tegea, being close to the Spartan border. Here they found foemen worthy of their steel. The hardy mountaineers fought tenaciously for their freedom, and the Spartans were at last thankful to make alliance with 560 them on honourable terms. The Tegeans recognised Sparta as suzerain, and followed her as leader, the Tegean soldiers forming the left wing of the Spartan army.

Argos, formerly the leading state in Peloponnesus, held out against the rising power of Sparta for a time. After her great king Pheidon died in battle, she lost much of her power, and the cities which had recognised her pre-eminence fell away. At last Argos was so weakened by continual war that she 524. did not recover for a generation, and Sparta was left without a rival in Peloponnesus.

Thus, after much hard fighting, the Spartans had proved the value of the Lycurgean method by overcoming their neighbours. We need not approve of the method any the more on that account. By its means endurance and resolution were encouraged at the expense of benevolence, natural affection, and pity. All that beautified and elevated life was crushed out, and the Spartan became " at best a magnificent savage, at

worst a systematic ruffian". Far better would it have been had the Spartans worked for their bread like honest folk, and been willing to live on terms of equality with their neighbours, instead of lording it over men who were as much entitled to freedom as themselves. "Mankind was neither better nor happier for the iron rule of Sparta."

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE CITIES WERE GOVERNED.

Whilst Sparta was thus introducing her peculiar form of government and military system, the other cities, both within Peloponnesus and without, were developing on very different lines. In most of the cities the old patriarchal kingship had died out, and the power had been seized by a few leading families, who kept it among themselves, and transmitted it to their heirs. This kind of government is called oligarchy, or government by few, as opposed to autocracy which is government by one, and democracy which is government by many. Now, although, superficially looked at, government by a few seems better than government by one, experience points the other way. When a despot governs, even though he may be bad at heart, a sense of the weakness of his position keeps him within bounds. He knows that, after all, he governs by the will of the people, and that deposition or assassination may be his portion if he entirely alienates their sympathy. Further, as a despot is surrounded by nobles, envious of him and willing to supplant him, he generally finds it to his interest to depress the aristocracy and cultivate popularity with the people. With an oligarchy it is otherwise. In this case, despotism is not tempered by fear of assassination, for oligarchs are not one but many. Their only dread is revolution, and lest this should occur they keep the masses ignorant, defenceless and poor. There is another reason why despotism is preferable to oligarchy. If a king is extravagant, he is after all but one, and can be satisfied within the bounds of reason; but if there are a number of aristocratic families, each endeavouring to

enrich itself at the expense of the people, they are "like a sweeping rain which leaveth no food".

Fortunately, if oligarchy is oppressive, it is also unstable. A monarchy has tradition behind it, a king is revered just because he is a king, and even when he is himself unworthy of reverence, his failures are often forgotten by reason of the deeds of some great ancestor. Moreover, a monarchy brings in the element of personal affection, for even a bad king will be popular with some classes of his subjects.

In an oligarchy, on the other hand, the personal element does not appeal, the government stands or falls by its own conduct, and, generally speaking, its conduct is selfish in the extreme. Sooner or later, therefore, an oligarchy is overthrown, perhaps by some deliverer from amongst the people, or by some one from amongst the oligarchs themselves, who, more enlightened or more ambitious than the rest, puts himself at the head of the masses, overthrows the government of his own order, and from gratitude, or from necessity, is endued by them with autocratic power. Whilst this hero lives, he probably uses his power for the benefit of the people, but when he passes away, his successors forget why these autocratic powers were given, and become in their turn oppressive, so that at last the people rising in their might, overthrow the despotism and establish a republic in which all citizens are supposed to be equal. Thus patriarchal kingship, oligarchy, autocracy and republic often follow in turn, but none of them is found perfect, for oppression is not so much the result of any form of government as of the selfishness which is natural to all men, whether rich or poor. Men who are well-disposed will make even the most illogical constitution work for the benefit of their fellows, whereas evil-disposed men will turn the most correct constitution into an engine of oppression. "Let favour be showed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness; in the land of uprightness will he deal wrongfully."

Sicyon.

The city of Sicyon, lying on the Gulf of Corinth, and one of the most ancient cities in Greece, became subject to Dorians, who ruled as an oligarchy, and denied to the former inhabitants the rights of citizenship.

At length a rich plebeian named Orthagoras headed a 676.
revolution, overthrew the oligarchy and became sole ruler. He ruled well, and his descendants after him, for about a century. Cleisthenes was the last of the line, and though he was a tyrant, yet as he was a capital soldier, gave fine displays at the public festivals, and won prizes in the Pythian and Olympic games, he was popular, but after his death the Sicyonians adopted a republican form of government.

Corinth.

The city of Corinth lay near Sicyon, at the end of the long gulf, and upon the isthmus that bears its name. Its geographical position was most advantageous for commerce, for it was not only on the thoroughfare between Peloponnesus and northern Greece, but it practically commanded both seas, the isthmus being so narrow that ships could be carried across from the Corinthian Gulf to the Gulf of Ægina. Corinth therefore became an important trading centre with fine harbours, both north and south. The Corinthians were famous shipbuilders, and invented the trireme, a vessel with three banks of oars, which became the model for the line of battle ships of the period.

As in other cities so also in Corinth, the aristocracy got the upper hand, the state being governed by two hundred families, who called themselves the Bacchiadæ, pretending to have descended from Bacchis, one of the early kings. The Bacchiadæ were supreme for nearly a century, and ruled so oppressively that large numbers of the people emigrated and founded colonies where they could be free. Sometimes, also, young nobles, not finding scope for ambition at home, led colonising expeditions beyond the seas. Of the colonies thus

founded, Syracuse in Sicily, and Corcyra or Corfu off Epirus, may be mentioned. The Corinthian nobles were shrewd enough to see how much wealth might be gained by trading, and encouraged it in every way, so that the city prospered.

655. At length the inevitable revolution broke out. It was headed by Cypselus, whose father was a plebeian, his mother a Bacchiad; and the oligarchy being overthrown, he ruled as autocrat for thirty years, and was popular with the people.

625. Cypselus was succeeded by his son Periander, under whom Corinth prospered exceedingly. To such an extent was commerce developed that the harbour dues sufficed for revenue, and relieved the citizens from further taxation. Nevertheless Periander ruled despotically, surrounding himself with foreign mercenaries, fortifying his palace, prohibiting public meetings, and getting rid of suspected citizens by exile or execution. His hand, however, was heavier upon the rich than upon the poor, and through his popularity with the common people he was able to keep his position for forty years. His nephew succeeded him, but was assassinated in the first year of his reign, and with his death the rule of the Cypselidæ came to an end.

Megara.

The town of Megara, which lay due east of Corinth, half way on the road to Athens, passed through similar experiences. Here also the early kingship was succeeded by oligarchy, and oligarchy ended in revolution. Theagenes led the popular party, and gained supreme authority for a time; but a second revolution dethroned him—he was expelled, and a democracy established.

The three cities mentioned, Sicyon, Corinth and Megara may be taken as types of the rest.

Owing to the smallness of the communities the early, heroic type of kingship, valuable as long as the tribe needed a fighting man at its head, decayed when the people settled down to agriculture and trade. This form of kingship gave place to the rule of the leading families, and when their rule

proved unbearable, a hero arose who delivered the people and obtained supreme power. This looked like a return to the original kingship, but it was not so. There was no divine halo about a king of this sort, and he could only hold his own in the face of a sulky aristocracy by keeping on friendly terms with the people. Autocracy in the end, however, proved scarcely more stable than oligarchy. The first autocratic ruler was a worthy man, but his successors degenerated and were at last dethroned, their rule being followed either by retrogression to a modified oligarchy or advance to a republic. Autocracy was therefore merely a stage in political development, but it served a useful purpose, for under the iron hand of the autocrat the distinction between the older families and the commons became less marked, and having to live together as subjects, rich and poor learned that all were alike interested in good government.

CHAPTER V.

COLONISATION.

The period of Greek history which lay between the eighth and sixth centuries saw a remarkable amount of colonial expansion. Greece is by nature specially fitted to produce a seafaring people, seeing that its coast line is of abnormal length, and that many parts of the peninsula, though difficult of access by land, are easily reached by sea. Having therefore learned the arts of shipbuilding and navigation from the Phœnicians, the Greeks speedily developed a race of hardy seamen, and as the eastern Mediterranean teemed with sparsely-peopled islands, and the Asiatic mainland was within easy distance, colonisation made rapid strides.

During the period when the States were ruled by oligarchies and autocracies, men, sighing for freedom, driven by poverty, or eager for increase of wealth, formed expeditions and swarmed off to distant lands. Settlements were generally made either at places with which trade had already been carried on, or at such as were evidently suited for trading; and as the aim of the colonists was trade and not conquest, the natives did not object to their settlement amongst them. The disjointed character of the government at home made it difficult for the States to exercise control abroad, so that the colonists had perfect freedom, and the cities which they planted often became more powerful than the cities from which they sprang.

Before the rise of Greece, the trade of the Mediterranean had been monopolised by the Phœnicians, who had built numerous cities and gathered an abnormal amount of wealth

GREECE
AND
HER COLONIES.

upon the little strip of coast which lies between Lebanon and the sea. From these cities they had gone forth with unparalleled enterprise, and established depots on all sides, in Africa, Sicily, Spain, Sardinia and perhaps even Britain. But the best time for Phœnician commerce was over. The Assyrian Empire was at its height, and Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon had dealt the cities cruel blows, which made it hard for them to continue their mission as peaceful traders. The time was therefore propitious for the Greeks, and they gradually pressed out the Phœnician merchants from the Ægean Sea. This the Phœnicians had to bear, but they had founded many colonies in the west—at Cadiz, Utica, Carthage and other places. These colonists did not allow themselves to be thrust from the western Mediterranean without a struggle. Carthage became a great city, and the Carthaginians in alliance with the Etruscans of north-west Italy, also a seafaring race, prevented the Mediterranean from becoming a Grecian lake.

The Greek colonies may be divided into four groups. The eastern group included the Dorian colonies on the south coast of Asia Minor, with the islands of Rhodes and Cos, mentioned in Homer; the Ionic colonies in the central portion of the same coast, with many cities of which Miletus and Ephesus were specially important; and the Æolic colonies of the north with the cities of Smyrna and Larissa, the islands of Lesbos, Tenedos and others.

The western group included Cumæ on the Bay of Naples and such cities in the South of Italy as Tarentum, Sybaris, Locri, Rhegium, and others so numerous that this part of Italy was called Magna Græcia. In the same group the Sicilian colonies may be included, Naxos, Syracuse, Leontini, Catana, Gela, Zankle (now Messina) and the rest. It is to be remembered that Rome was only founded about B.C. 753 so that the Greek colonies in Southern Italy and Sicily had time to develop before that city overshadowed them. Carthage, however, was powerful, and in alliance with Etruria, checked

Greek colonial development in the west. Nevertheless Massilia or Marseilles was founded by Phoceans on the south coast of France, and guiding its affairs with discretion it became a prosperous city. The Greeks introduced the cultivation of the vine and the olive into France, and from Marseilles as a centre traded widely both with Gaul and Spain.

The third group of colonies would be the African. In the seventh century Egypt was thrown open to the Greeks by Psamatik I. who owed his throne to the help which he had received from their mercenaries. The port of Naucratis in the Delta became a busy emporium, and the Greeks becoming familiarised with the African coast founded colonies at Cyrene and Barca.

In the fourth group of colonies we may include the numerous cities and islands on the coasts of Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace; thirty towns on the Chalcidian peninsula, and such cities as Cyzicus, Byzantium (now Constantinople), and others on the Black Sea, many of which, such as Odessa, Sinope, Trebizond and Sebastopol, remain important to this day.

To understand this colonising energy we must remember that the Greek of 2,500 years ago had the same thirst for wealth that men of enterprise have to-day. History merely repeats itself. No Californian miner or Australian sheep farmer is keener to make a fortune than were the Greeks, and large fortunes were made by them out of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, lead, corn, wool, timber, pitch, oil, horses, fish, and unfortunately also slaves. There was the same eagerness after wealth then that there is now, and just as little scruple as to the way in which it was acquired.

From what we have said about the colonial expansion of Greece it will be seen that the world owes more to the little peninsula than is generally imagined. The Greeks were not merely artists and philosophers. Just when Assyria had reduced Phœnicia to dependence, and Tyre and Sidon were losing their grip upon commerce, Greece stepped forward and did the world great service. For with Greeks as with Anglo-

Saxons, colonisation implied more than the mere making of money. Wherever the Greeks settled they brought with them their language, civilisation, literature and love of freedom. Both at home and abroad they taught the world what could be done by self-governing communities. True the principles of freedom were not always carried into practice, nevertheless with all their faults the governments of the Greek cities were much in advance of the military despotisms which oppressed the world. The time came when from disunion and the blighting influence of slavery Greece declined, and became an easy prey to her enemies, but this very disunion had served the cause of freedom and progress. For by reason of the multiplication of communities many had learned the art of government, the shores of Southern Europe had been fringed with free colonies, and a people of extraordinary capacity had come into being, of whose attainments and prowess the world is so proud that the failings of modern Greece are forgiven for the sake of her illustrious ancestry.

CHAPTER VI.

ATHENS.

ATHENS is mentioned in Homer, but in the early period of Greek history it was not a place of much consequence. When authentic history first touches it we find it governed by kings whose authority was limited by the archon in civil, and the
752. polemarch in military affairs. Even this limited kind of kingship was modified, the archon becoming the head of the state, the king elected every ten years and the polemarch coming after him. At first the archon was elected for life,
683. then for ten years, and at last nine archons were appointed annually, who divided the duties of government among them. Of these the president was the Archon Eponymus, who gave his name to the year; the Archon Basileus who performed the functions of priest was the second; the Polemarch or commander-in-chief was the third; the rest divided the administration of justice among them. There was an ancient assembly called the Areopagus, meeting on the hill of that name, of which the ex-archons became life members. It was the supreme court for judging cases of homicide, and it chose and controlled the archons.

These institutions were purely oligarchic, being kept in the hands of the Eupatridæ, who, like the patricians of Rome, held themselves aloof from the common people. Like the patricians also, the Eupatridæ guarded the knowledge of legal mysteries, so that the common people only obtained justice by their favour.

The discontent of the Athenians at last showed itself in
632. open revolt, the first revolution being headed by Cylon, a

wealthy noble with a large circle of friends. Aiming at supreme power he rose with his partisans and seized the Acropolis, but the people did not rally round him as he expected, so he had to fly. His followers sought sanctuary at the altars of the gods, and Megacles, the archon who commanded the troops, and belonged to a noble clan called the Alcmæonidæ, promised to spare their lives if they would surrender; but when, relying on his promise, they laid down their arms, they were slain. This breach of faith was resented by the people as likely to bring down the wrath of the gods upon the city, and the clan was pursued with hatred for years. At last, on the advice of Solon they stood their trial, and being found guilty of sacrilege were banished from Athens. They were afterwards permitted to return, but the story of the sacrilege was not forgotten, and was used by their enemies against them for many generations.

In the hope of allaying the discontent arising from malad- 624.
ministration of justice, Draco was appointed to codify the laws. The code thus drawn up was of so severe a character that the word "Draconian" passed into a proverb, but it must be remembered that Draco did not invent new laws, but merely recorded existing ones, that severity was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and that penalties in ancient codes were made severe with a view of compelling the wrongdoer to make restitution.

Draco's code did nothing to lighten the misery of the Athenian people, and their hatred of the oligarchy became intense. A war broke out with Megara in which the oligarchy showed great incompetence and this did not help to increase their popularity. In the course of this war Solon came to the 600.
front, leading a successful expedition and giving advice which proved to be for the benefit of Athens, so that, when at length the war was ended by the arbitration of Sparta, he had become the most popular man in the state. He improved his reputation by the part he took in connection with the "first sacred war" which was undertaken by the Delphic

Amphictyons against Cirrha and Crissa, towns which were accused of molesting pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. The temple of Delphi was a source of great wealth to the locality and the Amphictyons who managed it. Many of the pilgrims landed at the seaport of Cirrha and passed through the town of Crissa on their way to the temple, and the inhabitants of these places, coveting a share in the plunder, began to charge them toll. This was resented, and a war ensued which lasted for ten years, and ended in the destruction of both Cirrha and Crissa.

595. When matters came to a head in Athens and the oligarchs perceived that reform must be faced if the city was to be saved from ruin, Solon was chosen by general consent to frame a constitution. It was no easy task, for both politically and economically Athens was in a bad way. The money had fallen into the hands of the aristocracy who lent it at usurious interest, and a succession of wars and bad harvests had ruined the farmers who, mortgaged beyond hope of redemption, had sunk into the position of serfs. Those who had no farms to mortgage were in even worse condition, many of them having sold themselves and their children as slaves. For so desperate a disease only desperate remedies could avail, and Solon began by cancelling a proportion of the outstanding debts, making the lending of money on the security of the person illegal, removing feudal burdens, and remitting arrears of taxes.

Having thus mitigated the prevailing distress, Solon set himself to form a new constitution. He divided the citizens into four classes according to their wealth in land. The highest class, the Pentacosiomedimni, were men having an income of 500 measures of corn; the second, the Hippeis or knights, were men able to keep a horse, with incomes from 500 to 300 medimni; the third, the Zeugitæ, owners of a yoke of oxen, had from 300 to 150 medimni; the fourth, the Thetes, comprised all the rest. Qualification for office depended on class, but so also did taxation. The highest offices of state were reserved for the Pentacosiomedimni but they paid the highest

taxes; the Hippeis and Zeugitæ were eligible for minor offices, and were taxed less heavily; the Thetes could not hold office and were not taxed at all. Solon's constitution was therefore a modified timocracy; it gave power in proportion to wealth, but the only wealth reckoned was wealth in land.

There were three assemblies in Solon's constitution. Of these the first was the "Ecclesia," the ancient assembly of the people, which had never died out but retained little authority. Solon revived it, making it part of the machinery of state. Every citizen could vote in it, and it had the right of electing archons, passing laws, and calling magistrates to account at the termination of their office.

The second assembly was the "Boulê" or Senate having 400 members, elected annually; and forming a committee without whose approval no business could come before the Ecclesia.

The third assembly was the "Areopagus," which was shorn of many of its political powers but made guardian of public morals, with a right of veto against dangerous legislation, and the right to punish citizens whose manner of life amounted to a public scandal. Though therefore the Areopagus had no very clearly-defined political duties it had much moral power, and was held in reverence by the Athenians.

Solon next turned his attention to legal reform, and drew up a code of laws to take the place of the Draconian. Amongst the propertied classes in Athens, the family and the clan had authority over the persons and property of their members. Solon relaxed this authority so far as life and liberty were concerned, and gave childless citizens the right to dispose of their property at death. A remarkable feature in his legislation was the disfranchising of citizens who did not take sides in times of civil trouble. This provision was probably intended to prevent political apathy, and thus make it less easy for tyranny to arise.

When these matters had been settled, and the laws inscribed in a public place, Solon declared an amnesty for political

offences, and then, in order that his constitution might be permitted to show its merits without further interference, he left Athens for ten years. It would have been better for the new constitution if he had remained to look after it, and make such amendments as experience might suggest. The enactments were valuable but they had weak points, and when friction began, discontent began with it. No section of the community was so entirely satisfied as to make a resolute stand for the constitution; the aristocracy wanted the oligarchy back again, the democracy had got a taste of power and wanted more, while the commercial men who were not landowners, finding they had no voice in public affairs, were the most discontented of all.

Accordingly when Solon returned from his travels he had the mortification of finding his constitution unpopular, the old dissensions still rife, and a relative of his own, Peisistratus, voicing the general dissatisfaction and grasping at the supreme power. In spite of Solon's protestations Peisistratus was successful, and Athens passed under the government of
560. an autocrat, who, though twice expelled, twice returned, and at length, learning wisdom by experience, managed to keep his position until his death. Although Peisistratus was autocratic and unscrupulous, he was a useful ruler passing various enactments in the interests of good order. He made laws, built roads, aqueducts and temples, patronised both literature and art, and established a public library—the first in Athens. He was wise enough not to abrogate Solon's constitution, contenting himself with guiding it in his own interests, and nominating his friends for important offices.

527. Peisistratus was succeeded by Hippias, his son, who at first walked in his father's footsteps. Unfortunately, a younger brother, Hipparchus, who was living an immoral life, got into trouble, and a conspiracy was formed to kill them both. Hipparchus was assassinated and Hippias escaped, but the untoward incident soured his disposition. He surrounded himself with foreign mercenaries and became suspicious and

cruel. His oppression soon made him disliked and gave his enemies their opportunity. The most powerful of these were the Alcmæonidæ, who had returned at the time of Solon's amnesty and were again popular. They were wealthy and had atoned for their sacrilege by rebuilding the temple at Delphi, which had been destroyed by fire. Accordingly the priests now aided them, and Cleomenes, king of Sparta, was induced to espouse their cause and attack Hippias. Although successful in the first encounter Hippias was at length de- 511.
feated and retired to Asia, taking refuge in the dominions of the Persian king.

CHAPTER VII.

CLEISTHENES THE REFORMER.

511. After the expulsion of Hippias the strife between the different parties began again. The aristocracy demanded the restoration of the oligarchy, but the Alcmæonidæ, headed by Cleisthenes, an extremely able man, took the popular side and offered the people a greater share in the government. How far Cleisthenes may in the first instance have been inspired by genuine love of reform, and how far by policy, may be questioned; but having once taken to reform, he threw himself into the task with zeal, and never halted until he had revolutionised the whole Athenian polity.

Before the reforms began there was a time of trouble. The aristocrats, led by Isagoras, showed fight, but their
509. weakness was speedily seen, and Isagoras fled from Athens. He went to Sparta and sought the help of Cleomenes, who, thinking that he had an easy task before him, set out against Athens with a few hundred men. Cleisthenes, hearing that the king of Sparta was approaching, and never dreaming that he would come with so small a force, retired from the city, which opened its gates, and Isagoras and Cleomenes entered and garrisoned the Acropolis. Isagoras then declared the constitution annulled, replaced it by an oligarchy chosen by himself, and expelled 700 leading democratic families.

Meanwhile the Athenians saw how small was the force to which they had yielded, and taking courage drove Isagoras into the Acropolis and blockaded him and his supporters. They then sent for Cleisthenes, who speedily returned with many of the exiled democrats. The Acropolis being

crowded with men and not provisioned for a siege had to surrender, and the Athenians wisely allowed the Spartans to depart safely. They managed to carry Isagoras with them, but such of his Athenian supporters as were left behind were put to death.

Cleomenes was deeply chagrined by his failure, and on his return to Sparta he summoned his Peloponnesian allies to make common cause with him against Athens. That nothing might be wanting for the discomfiture of the city he also allied himself with the Bœotians and Eubœans, who undertook to invade Attica from the north, as soon as he crossed the southern frontier.

The Athenians were so alarmed that they actually sent an embassy to Artaphernes, the Persian satrap of Asia Minor, to entreat help; and the ambassadors agreed to pay homage to Darius if help were granted, but on their return the Athenians, who had only contemplated alliance on equal terms, repudiated the treaty.

Athens was left, therefore, with no other ally but the little town of Platæa to which the Athenians had rendered service, and which now, and more notably afterwards, showed true gratitude.

All seemed to be going well for Sparta, and Cleomenes was approaching with an overwhelming force when, for the first time, his confederates learned that it was his intention to overthrow the Athenian democracy and reinstate Isagoras as tyrant. Now as some of these states had themselves suffered many things from tyrants, and had with much trouble got rid of them and established democracies, the incongruity of their position struck them so forcibly that after a stormy debate they refused to assist Cleomenes and went home, whereupon the Athenians, profoundly astonished but greatly relieved at the break-up of their enemies' armament, marched against the Bœotians and Eubœans, and in one day defeated them both.

The city was now in an enviable position, and Cleisthenes,

deservedly in high repute, made a good use of his opportunity by revising and improving the constitution.

The essential idea in the mind of Cleisthenes was the unity of Athens. From ancient times the people had been divided into tribes according to birth—each tribe following its own chieftain. Cleisthenes abolished the four ancient tribal divisions, and substituted ten new divisions in which he included all the inhabitants of Attica who were not slaves. These larger divisions were subdivided into demes or wards, and the demes making up a tribal division were so arranged as not to be adjacent. By this arrangement Cleisthenes avoided that excess of local sentiment which leads to faction, and made it harder for the nobles to raise parties amongst the people. Moreover by this method one tribe obtained no advantage over the rest, for though each ward had its local interests, the tribe was a mere aggregate. Hence although ancient friendships and common religious ceremonies were kept up as before, for purposes of government the people became blended into one. A healthy spirit was kept alive by allowing the demes to have ward meetings, presided over by a Demarchus, where rates were levied and matters of common interest discussed. Having thus given every citizen an opportunity of taking an intelligent interest in the government, Cleisthenes proceeded to make the assemblies real forces in the state.

He increased the size of the Senate or Boulê to 500 members—the senators being elected by the ten tribes: fifty from each. It therefore became a representative body with sole power to originate measures, which had however to be approved by the Ecclesia before they became law. As the Senate was a permanent deliberative body, Cleisthenes lightened the burden for the individual members by dividing the year into ten periods, and allotting one period to the senators of each tribe. The period was known as a Prytany, and whilst it lasted, the fifty senators whose turn it had become to serve, were boarded and lodged in the Prytaneium at the public expense. By this arrangement Athens always

had fifty senators in session, and yet no one was unduly pressed.

The assembly of the people, the Ecclesia, was also reformed, and its powers increased. It had to be summoned at least once during a Prytany, but it afterwards became so important that it met four times in a Prytany, and had extra sessions as well. Its sittings were often extremely interesting. Every citizen had a right to speak, and this freedom of speech was greatly prized, and had much to do with Athenian development. The meetings were conducted on modern lines, speakers being cheered and hissed in the usual way. As the Ecclesia recognised no distinction but such as was due to popularity or approved merit, the humblest citizen had a chance of showing what manner of man he was, and if able might hope to influence public affairs; so that the lives of the Athenians were brightened and their wits sharpened to a remarkable degree. Moreover, as the magistrates were elected annually, and had at the end of the year to give an account of their stewardship to the Ecclesia, it had great power over the executive and was a terror to the evil-doer.

The Ecclesia heard appeals and tried cases of treason, and when acting in this capacity was called the "Heliæa," and for convenience' sake was divided into juries called "Dicasteries". The great size of the Dicasteries, and the fact that the members were chosen by lot to try any particular case, helped to make bribery or intimidation extremely difficult.

The institution of the Archons was preserved, as well as the regulation of Solon that only men of wealth were eligible for office. But as the Ecclesia both elected and passed judgment on officials, the restriction was of less consequence. It was long before the Athenians opened state offices to poor men, and even after they had done so poor men were rarely elected.

The Areopagus or Court of Censorship was also maintained, the archons passing into it at the end of their term of office.

A new military office was created which was destined to become important. Each of the ten tribes chose a strategus or

general, and the ten strategi formed a standing council of war, which the polemarch consulted and which eventually greatly limited his power.

Perceiving how, in spite of every precaution, unscrupulous men might frustrate his efforts and enslave the state, Cleisthenes fell upon an extraordinary plan for checking ambition. He arranged that if at any time a citizen should be growing too powerful, the Senate and Ecclesia might declare the state in jeopardy, after which the citizens were to meet and record by individual vote the name of the person who seemed to each a source of danger to the state. The names were written on potsherds, and if any citizen was unfortunate enough to receive 6,000 votes he was "ostracised," that is sent into exile, for ten years. This period was afterwards reduced to five, but when the law had lasted a century and been put into force about ten times, it was turned into ridicule by being applied to insignificant persons, and became obsolete.

By reforms such as these, Cleisthenes turned Athens into a genuine republic, broadening the basis of the state, and bringing home to the minds of the citizens the thought that each had a share in the government. The effect was remarkable. These reforms came into operation at a time when the Athenians were gaining success in foreign affairs, and their spirits were high. The assemblies threw themselves into their duties with zest, there was unity amongst the people, rich and poor were alike content, and the citizens began to have such confidence in each other that they ceased to be afraid even of Sparta.

For the first time in history, the sovereignty of the people was finding practical expression, and the magical words "liberty, equality, fraternity," were inspiring a nation. For a century Athens retained the inspiration, and, during that century, her people, working together, heart and hand, did magnificent service for humanity, saving Europe from being overrun by Asiatic hordes, and giving to the world "its first great intellectual baptism".

CHAPTER VIII.

CYRUS THE GREAT.

We have already seen how numbers of Greeks crossed the sea and settled on the coast of Asia Minor, the western shore of which especially was fringed with the numerous cities they had planted. These cities lay adjacent to the kingdom of Lydia, but as they were seaports, and their inhabitants confined themselves to commerce, the Lydian monarchs did not meddle with them, but gladly profited by the tolls they levied upon the traffic passing between the coast ports and the interior.

The Asiatic cities, therefore, flourished, and some became richer than those from which they had sprung. In the matter of government they had passed through varied experiences, and some had oligarchies, some autocracies, and some republics. They lived at peace with each other, for the most part, and had common religious festivals, but no particular city led the rest, nor were they accustomed to act in unison. So long as Lydia let them alone, this mattered little; but when the Lydian kings tried to subdue them, the want of cohesion proved fatal.

When Crœsus, the monarch concerning whom so many 568.
strange tales are extant, became king of Lydia, these cities fell into his hands, and were treated by him with much consideration. He was an ardent admirer of Greek civilisation, and a worshipper of Apollo; and as he only asked to be acknowledged as suzerain, and did not meddle with their local government, they did very well under his rule. Unfortunately, however, Crœsus himself was subdued, and the Asiatic Greeks fell into the hands of a harder taskmaster.

In order to understand the circumstances of the time it is needful to remember that important events had been transpiring in the east. For centuries Assyria had been the dominant power, and Babylon and Egypt had acknowledged her supremacy. At last this great but cruel power, having had her strength sapped by persistent revolts in her provinces and a terrible Scythian invasion, was crushed by the united forces of Media and
606. Babylonia, Nineveh her ancient capital being destroyed.

The attack upon Assyria had been chiefly led by Cyaxares king of the Medes, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, and these two monarchs divided the Assyrian Empire between them.

The northern portion of the empire fell to Cyaxares, who proceeded to push his conquests farther westward. He carried all before him until he met the Lydians, who offered so stout a resistance that he made a treaty by which the river Halys became the boundary between their kingdom and his empire.

Half a century later a change took place in the Median Empire itself. Cyrus, king of Elam, but a Persian by descent,
549. conquered Astyages king of the Manda, was accepted by the Manda and Medes as ruler, and, easily persuading the hardy mountaineering tribes of Persia, who were of his own blood, to follow his banner, united these warlike races into one great empire. Viewed from outside the change was not serious, for the surrounding nations knew little difference between the Medes and the Persians. To them therefore it was a change of dynasty rather than of empire, but its importance lay in this, that, by the union of Medes, Persians and Elamites under Cyrus, one of the most able and energetic of kings had at his command an almost inexhaustible supply of the best soldiers in Asia.

Cyrus, accordingly, pushed his conquests far and wide. His rapid progress alarmed the neighbouring states, and Crœsus, fearing that Lydia would be absorbed, induced Amasis, king of Egypt, and Nabonidos, king of Babylon, to enter into alliance with him against the common enemy. Crœsus had

obtained an apparently favourable if somewhat ambiguous opinion from the oracle at Delphi, and went forward against Cyrus with confidence, crossing the river Halys and invading Cappadocia, which had acknowledged Persian suzerainty.

Cyrus acted so promptly that Crœsus got no help from his allies, and a battle was fought in Cappadocia in which 546.
both armies suffered severely. When Cyrus retired, Crœsus, concluding that he was retreating, and unable to pursue, determined to postpone further operations until the next year, dismissed his allies, and fell back upon Sardis his capital. When Cyrus heard what Crœsus had done, he saw his opportunity, and marching rapidly on Sardis, fell upon the Lydians and defeated them, capturing their city, citadel and king within fourteen days.

This sudden fall of a great monarchy created a profound impression amongst the surrounding peoples. All Lydia submitted to Cyrus excepting the cities of the Asiatic Greeks. Of these Miletus paid homage, but the rest held out for favourable terms, whilst Cyrus demanded unconditional surrender.

The cities, alarmed yet obstinate, sent to Sparta to seek help, but Sparta instead of sending an army, sent ambassadors to Cyrus to warn him not to meddle with any Greek city. This did more harm than good, for Cyrus, flushed with victory, and knowing nothing of Spartan prowess, dismissed them with threats. He himself could not longer delay in the west, but he left his general to carry on the war and subdue the cities. Some of them resisted bravely, and had there been united effort, the Persians would not have found the task easy, but disunion spoiled everything, and they fell a prey one by one to the enemy, though some of the inhabitants preferred emigration to Persian rule. When once they had conquered the cities, the Persians did not treat them badly, but left them local government, and full freedom to trade.

The conquest of these cities was of immense importance to

Persia, for it gave her access to the Mediterranean, and made her powerful on sea as well as on land.

During this period Cyrus was carrying his arms over Central Asia, and penetrating as far as India and Tartary, and when the tribes of these regions had been subdued he
538. turned against Babylon. At first he failed to break down the defences of King Nabonidos but ultimately defeated him in a pitched battle, after which Babylon opened its gates without a struggle, and the Babylonian Empire came to an end.

It had been the policy of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia to transplant the peoples whom they subdued. It was a dangerous policy, for the exiles, congregating in the heart of the empire, were sure to work for its downfall. The ease with which Cyrus overcame Babylon was largely owing to the presence of these exiles, and when he gained the city he reversed the former policy, and allowed them to return home. Amongst those who took advantage of his liberality were the Jews, many of whom returned to Jerusalem under the leadership of Zerubbabel.

529. Cambyses succeeded Cyrus and added to the importance of the empire by conquering Phœnicia, Egypt and Cyprus. He died suddenly, and was succeeded by a usurper called Smerdis, who had only reigned for a few months when a plot was formed against him, and he was slain, after which Darius ascended the throne of Persia.

CHAPTER IX.

DARIUS THE GREAT.

DARIUS had no hereditary right to the throne, and many re- 521.
volts had to be extinguished before he was generally accepted as king, but he proved a most able ruler, and vanquished all his enemies.

When he was thoroughly established, Darius set himself to the task of organising the empire. Hitherto it had been an agglomeration of vassal states, each acknowledging its own prince, and paying tribute to the suzerain with more or less regularity. Darius divided the empire into twenty-three provinces called satrapies, over each of which a satrap, or governor, was placed. A valuation having been made, the gross amount which each satrapy ought to pay was determined, and the satrap was made responsible for its collection, whereupon he subdivided his province into districts and allotted to each its share. So long as the native governments worked smoothly, they were not interfered with; all that was demanded was that they should pay their taxes, furnish contingents, and give free passage to the troops of the empire. Most of the cities of the Asiatic Greeks were now under the rule of autocrats, but these were not disturbed if they were faithful to Persia.

Though Darius had so vast an empire he was not satisfied, but looked towards Greece with longing eyes. Relations between Persia and her Asiatic Greek subjects had never been quite cordial, and Darius knew that the spirit of rebellion was encouraged by their kinsmen in Europe, so that the conquest of Greece seemed the one thing needful to complete the consolidation of the empire.

As the Persians were unaccustomed to naval warfare, Darius preferred to invade Greece by the overland route, and to accomplish this with safety, proposed to conquer the Thracians, Scythians, Macedonians and Thessalians in turn, until at last Greece herself was reached. It was well for Greece that he set about the invasion in this circuitous way. Athens, whose valour was to make resistance to the Persians possible, was at this time under the rule of the Peisistratidæ, and her people had none of the public spirit which they developed later when the tyrants had been expelled, and the reforms of Cleisthenes had made them citizens indeed. Had Darius attacked Greece by sea at this time, the country might have fallen an easy prey, but twenty years later, when the attack was made, Athens was ready.

512. Darius' expedition against Europe would have been impossible but for the aid which he received from the Asiatic Greeks. They supplied a fleet of 500 ships, and built one bridge of boats over the Bosphorus and another over the Danube, and when with the aid of these bridges he entered Scythia with his army, they remained behind to guard the bridge.

The Scythians, avoiding battle, retreated before Darius, destroying forage, cutting off stragglers and drawing him farther from his base, until his position became so serious that he had to retreat, abandoning his sick and wounded.

The Scythian horsemen brought intelligence to the Greeks at the bridge that Darius was retreating, and assured them that if they would but destroy it, neither the Persian king nor his soldiers would ever trouble them again. Miltiades, the ruler of the Thracian Chersonese, an Athenian and afterwards the hero of Marathon, advocated this course, but he was overruled by Histiæus, the governor of Miletus, and Darius and his army were saved.

Darius was thankful to get back to Sardis safely with the bulk of his army; leaving Megabazus, his general, with 80,000 men to conquer as much of Thrace as had not already submitted. In this Megabazus was successful, not only subduing

Thrace, but receiving homage from Amyntas, king of Macedonia, so that Darius by great good fortune not only escaped destruction, but frightened the Scythians, conquered the Thracians, and obtained the submission of the Macedonians. The Persian Empire in Europe now extended from the Bosphorus to Thessaly, and the complete conquest of Greece seemed but a trifle after what had been accomplished.

Miltiades dared not remain longer in the Chersonese, and retired to Athens, whilst Histiæus, whose counsel had saved Darius, was rewarded. Histiæus, however, was spoiled by prosperity, and aiming at independence, was summoned to Susa, where he remained—Aristagoras, his son-in-law, being made autocrat of Miletus in his stead.

Darius had now returned to his court at Susa, and was represented in Sardis by Artaphernes, his satrap, who had the Asiatic Greeks under his jurisdiction. These were suffering a good deal from local tyranny, and recent events had made them somewhat ungovernable, for, knowing that Darius could not have undertaken his Scythian expedition without their help, and that he would have been destroyed but for their forbearance, they overestimated their importance. It wanted, therefore, but a spark to cause a conflagration, and this was supplied by Aristagoras of Miletus, who proved to be as ambitious as Histiæus whom he had superseded. Aristagoras saw an opportunity of increasing his power by attacking the island of Naxos, in which there had been a revolution resulting in the fall of the oligarchy. The nobles came to him and begged 501.
for help, and he, hoping to gain control over the island, but realising that he was not strong enough to accomplish it by himself, went to Artaphernes and proposed to bring it under Persian suzerainty. Artaphernes agreed and lent a fleet of 200 ships, but not having much confidence in Aristagoras made Megabates, a Persian, joint commander of the expedition.

Aristagoras and Megabates quarrelled before sailing, and the latter, greatly chagrined, secretly revealed their plans to

the Naxians, so that the expedition proved abortive. Aristagoras was in despair, for he had not only pledged his word with Darius and Artaphernes that the enterprise would succeed, but had spent his resources upon its equipment. At this crisis he received a message from Histiæus, advising him to revolt against Persia. The message chimed in so thoroughly with his inclination at the time that he did not hesitate, and in order to carry the people with him he assembled them, professed to be a reformed character, and laid down his despotic power. The Milesians, well pleased, re-elected him as constitutional magistrate, and declared for war against Persia, their example being followed by the other Asiatic Greeks and by Cyprus.

Aristagoras, realising the importance of the occasion, crossed to Europe and appealed to the European Greeks for help. Sparta refused, but Athens, herself free, and sympathetic with the efforts of others after freedom, gave him twenty ships, to which Eretria added five.

The small squadron arrived at Ephesus, and having been joined there by detachments from the revolted cities, the combined force made a sudden attack upon Sardis where Artaphernes
499. resided. Taken by surprise the satrap was driven into the citadel, and the town was sacked and burnt. This was an error of strategy, for the citizens were Lydians, and might have been favourable towards the revolution. As it was, they were exasperated at the burning of their capital and turned upon the Greeks, who found they had undertaken a task beyond their strength. Accordingly they were driven back to their ships with loss, and the Athenians and Eretrians, disgusted at the mismanagement of the affair, sailed home. But though the expedition thus broke up, the burning of the Lydian capital was a deed neither to be forgiven nor forgotten by Persia, and Darius vowed vengeance not only on the revolted cities, but on the Athenians and Eretrians who had abetted so daring a deed.

All Phœnicia being now subject to Persia, Darius was able to gather a formidable fleet with which to attack the rebels.

He began with Cyprus, which was easily crushed, after which he attacked the cities. Some resistance was made, but Aristagoras lost heart and fled. He gained little by his flight, for 497.
landing in Thrace he and his followers were cut to pieces by the inhabitants.

Artaphernes now attacked Miletus by land and sea. The Greeks, finding themselves powerless against the formidable land army, gathered 350 ships for a great naval effort. Battle was joined at Lade but some of the Greek ships fled, and only those of Miletus and Chios were left to contend with the enemy, so that they were soon overpowered. Miletus held out for a time after this disaster, but was at last captured and 495.
sacked. The city was burned and its inhabitants sold as slaves, and though rebuilt, the new city never attained the importance of the old.

After the fall of Miletus the remaining cities quickly surrendered, and the revolt of the Asiatic Greeks was at an end.

CHAPTER X.

MARATHON.

HAVING now amply revenged himself upon the Asiatic Greeks, Darius had time to think of Europe, and especially of Athens and Eretria.

492. Accordingly he sent a military and naval expedition under Mardonius; the army crossing the Hellespont and marching by way of Thrace, whilst the fleet coasted in its support. All went well until the promontory of Mount Athos was reached, where the fleet encountered such a hurricane that 300 ships and 20,000 men were lost. The army on shore also met with unexpected resistance from the Thracians, and both by land and sea the expedition was so weakened that Mardonius deemed it wiser to return.

The untoward result of his second expedition into Europe did not cause Darius to swerve from his purpose, and the succeeding year and a half was spent in preparing such a fleet and army as might surmount every obstacle.

The army thus about to be launched against Attica was certainly formidable. Thirty-six nations sent contingents, and there were not fewer than 100,000 fighting men. Before the invasion Darius sent envoys to the various Grecian states, demanding submission. The envoys were variously received. Some made the customary offering of earth and water in token of homage, some dismissed the envoys with polite scorn, the Athenians threw one herald into a pit, and the Spartans another into a well. Whatever the rest might do, it was evident that Darius would meet with determined opposition from these two leading states.

Amongst those who paid homage were the Æginetans, who being then at war with Athens declined to follow her example. The Athenians appealed to Sparta, and Cleomenes compelled Ægina to stand firm against the common enemy, and to make peace with Athens; so that when the crisis came Athens was able to fight against Persia with undivided energy.

It was now twenty years since Hippias had been expelled from Athens, and the reforms of Cleisthenes were bearing fruit. A generation had arisen which appreciated the advantages of freedom, and there had been an outburst of vigour and intellectual energy to which there are few parallels in the world's history.

The prosperity of the city had increased, and the importance of giving every citizen a personal interest in the government was seen in many ways. Not only did the commons appreciate the new form of government, but the aristocrats, as true leaders of the people, were finding a worthier sphere for legitimate ambition than they had ever found under the oligarchy.

Amongst the leaders Themistocles, Aristeides and Miltiades were specially prominent. The first was an able man, far-seeing, daring and resourceful. He was little scrupulous as to methods, and like most men of his time was not above bribery, yet no statesman did Greece better service.

Aristeides was also able—not so far-sighted as Themistocles, but cool, clear headed and just. His austerity of character made him unpopular, but in the long run his worth was acknowledged by all.

Miltiades has already been mentioned. He was an aristocrat and had succeeded his uncle as ruler over the Greek cities in the Thracian Chersonese. In this capacity he had followed Darius to the Danube on his first invasion of Europe, and had his advice been followed Darius would never have invaded Europe again. Afterwards Miltiades took part in the Ionic revolt, but on its collapse went to Athens, where he was chosen strategus; and so, by virtue of the elasticity of demo-

cratic institutions, one who had been an independent sovereign was now a faithful officer of the republic.

490. At length the fleet of Darius commanded by Datis and Artaphernes sailed into the Ægean. With the fleet also came Hippias, the tyrant expelled from Athens twenty years before, now an old man, yet not without the hope of winning back his position by the aid of Persia.

Warned by the fate of the former expedition, Datis and Artaphernes avoided the route by way of Mount Athos, and sailed straight across the Ægean. They touched at Naxos, and the Naxians fled to the mountains, leaving their city to its fate. Having destroyed Naxos, they sailed to Eubœa and besieged Eretria. The Eretrians not daring to meet the Persians in the field, shut the gates of their city and prepared to stand a siege. Unfortunately there were traitors within. After a few days the gates were opened, the city captured, and the citizens carried on board the fleet in chains, ready to be transported to Asia when the rest of the work had been accomplished. So far the expedition had been successful, and the road to Athens seemed clear.

Hippias, knowing Attica well, guided the Persian fleet to the Bay of Marathon where there was easy landing, and from which it was only a march of twenty miles to Athens. It is probable that Datis and Artaphernes contemplated landing a portion of the forces at Marathon for the purpose of drawing out the Athenian army and keeping it in play, whilst the fleet sailed round to Piræus and attacked the undefended city. After events proved that there were traitors in Athens, as there had been in Eretria, ready to give notice when the favourable moment for attack had come.

The fall of Eretria alarmed the Athenians, but did not affect their determination to fight to the bitter end. Philippides, the swiftest runner in Athens, was sent to Sparta to notify the fall of Eretria, and entreat instant help. He ran 150 miles across country in forty-eight hours and delivered his message. The Spartans promised aid, but it was close on full

moon and superstition did not permit them to set out until five days had passed, by which time Athens did not need their help.

The gallant city had therefore to face the enemy alone. It was a terrible task, for she could only put 9,000 hoplites into the field, and the Persians numbered 100,000 men. There were searchings of heart amongst the generals, and half the strategi counselled delay. Miltiades urged immediate attack. He was specially well fitted to advise, for he understood Orientals, knowing how liable they were to be seized with panic, and how a sudden and determined attack might succeed against them when more deliberate action would fail. He guessed also that traitors would be at work in Athens, and that delay would give them their opportunity. Accordingly he threw all the earnestness which he could command into an appeal for instant action, and the polemarch gave the casting vote in his favour.

Battle having been decided on, the strategi acquiesced loyally, and instead of insisting on their right of command by turns, gave Miltiades undivided power. They did well, for not only did his military experience and high rank give him a claim, but he, even more than the others, had his all at stake. By his counsel at the Danube he had made friendship with Darius for ever impossible, and a Persian victory, if it meant misfortune for the rest, meant ruin for him.

The Persians had encamped on the plain fronting the Bay of Marathon, and their ships were drawn up on shore, whilst the handful of Athenians lay on the mountain side guarding the road to Athens, and overlooking the camp of the enemy.

Whilst waiting thus the Athenians were delighted by the arrival of the whole available force of the little town of Platæa which they had formerly befriended. It was the second time that the Platæans had thus proved their gratitude, and the desperate circumstances of the case make their conduct one of the brightest events of Greek history. The Platæans numbered 1,000 men, so that the united Greek forces now amounted to 10,000 hoplites with their attendants, a handful compared with the huge force encamped beneath them on the plain.

As the Persians showed no sign of beginning the assault, Miltiades formed his men into line. The formation was peculiar, the men being massed chiefly on the wings whilst the middle was only a few files deep. After the generals had harangued their men, Miltiades gave the signal, and the Greeks, shouting their battle cry, charged down the hill. They had nearly a mile to run and must have been breathless when they reached the Persians, but the effect of their desperate courage was irresistible. The Persians had not expected a battle, and gazing with amazement at the madmen running, as they thought, upon their doom, had barely time to form when the Athenians were upon them. The battle was scarcely for a moment doubtful. The fact was that up to that time neither Persians nor Athenians had sufficiently estimated the true merits of their respective forces. The Persians had fought the Asiatic Greeks, largely half-castes, and lightly armed like themselves, and they imagined that they would find the European Greeks men of the same type. They had yet to learn what a charge of heavily-armed and determined Europeans would mean to their physically feeble and half-naked Oriental troops. This lesson they learned at Marathon, and neither Greek nor Persian ever forgot it. For one moment the Persian centre, where the select troops fought, withstood the Greeks, but next moment the Greek wings, having scattered the enemy opposed to them like sheep, wheeled round and attacked the Persians in flank, and the battle was over. Such of the Persians as could fled to the ships, many were driven into the marshes, 6,000 were slain. The total Athenian loss was 200, amongst whom, unfortunately, fell the polemarch Callimachus, whose casting vote had given authority for the battle.

All danger was not yet past, for either before or just after the battle a shield was seen to flash from the top of an adjacent mountain. The Greeks, knowing that there were traitors in Athens, guessed that this was a heliographic signal to the fleet that the city was undefended. The suspicion

became certainty when they saw the fleet making for Cape Sunium, by rounding which it would soon reach Athens. Accordingly, without delay, tired though the men were, they hurried back to Athens, and when the Persians approaching saw the men of Marathon waiting them on the shore, they thought better of it and set sail for Asia. Unfortunately the Eretrians on board the fleet could not be rescued, and were sent as prisoners to Susa, to prove to Darius that the expedition had been successful in part. To his credit be it said that Darius treated them kindly, and gave them lands in Elam upon which they settled.

The effect of Marathon upon the Greeks was electrical. They had trembled at the very name of Persia, but they now knew that even in small numbers they were a match for a Persian host, and the inspiration thus enkindled infused itself into every subsequent encounter, and gave them that confidence which in battle so often means victory.

A Spartan contingent of 2,000 men arrived too late for the battle. Apart from the delay the number was so out of proportion to Sparta's resources and the gravity of the crisis that it seemed as if she would not have been unwilling to see Athens humbled by Persia. However, when the Spartans saw that they had lost a share in so much glory, they put the best face they could upon the matter, and, having congratulated the victors, returned home.

Miltiades did not live long to enjoy the glory he had won, 489.
and died under melancholy circumstances. With the consent of the Athenians he organised a piratical expedition against the island of Paros, but it was unsuccessful and he returned discomfited and badly wounded. He was, somewhat ungratefully, prosecuted before the Heliæa for deceiving the citizens, and sentenced to pay the cost of the expedition, but before the penalty could be enforced his wound mortified and he died. It was a sad ending for a great man, but we need only remember his brilliant service at Marathon and forget the rest.

CHAPTER XI.

THERMOPYLÆ.

In spite of the disasters attending his third European invasion Darius was undismayed, and, determined to put forth the full strength of his empire and crush Greece by sheer weight, he at once began preparations for a new campaign. Meanwhile
486. a revolt broke out in Egypt, and whilst he was marching against that country he died.

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of Scripture. Xerxes was not warlike, and would have gladly let Greece alone. But this did not suit the views of the military party at Susa, who hoped to win profit and renown by the war. The Egyptian revolt delayed matters; but, when it had been overcome, preparations went on in earnest for the fourth Persian invasion of Europe.

The death of Darius, the time spent in quelling the rebellion and in these preparations, gave Athens a breathing space of ten years, during which the citizens were well employed.
490. Up to the battle of Marathon the Athenians had no fleet worth speaking about—their power resting entirely upon their hoplites. Themistocles perceived that the position of Athens gave her a favourable opportunity for becoming a maritime power, and foresaw that when the next struggle with Persia came the possession of a fleet would be of primary consequence. It helped his schemes that the Athenians were at war with the Æginetans, who had a substantial fleet; and in urging that Athens should increase the number of her ships Themistocles could plead the necessities of the moment. But his political vision looked beyond Ægina and even beyond

Persia, for he saw that, owing to the configuration of Greece, the state with the best harbours and the best fleet must become the leading state in Greece. Sparta was powerful on land, but if Athens were supreme on the sea, even Sparta must yield the palm. There happened to be a surplus in the Athenian treasury at this time, and when it was proposed to divide it amongst the citizens, Themistocles moved that the money should be spent on ships, and carried his point. He had to meet a powerful opposition, led by Aristeides, who obstructed with so much vigour that he was ostracised.

Themistocles was now free to carry out his plans, and keels were laid for enough vessels to make the Athenian navy 200 strong. A good harbour was also constructed at Piræus, which speedily became a busy and thriving town, and thus it happened that, whereas at Marathon Athens was practically without ships, when Xerxes came she had as many as all the other Grecian states put together.

The year before Xerxes' invasion all Asia was astir, and 481.
contingents were arriving at Sardis from the remotest parts of the empire. Fighting being now certain, the Greeks met in conference at Corinth to decide upon a common plan of action for the states. Only Argos and Thebes held aloof, the former from hatred of Sparta, the latter from hatred of Athens.

The congress began by making peace once more between Athens and Ægina. Appeals were then sent to the Greek colonies for help, but they produced nothing. Gelo, the Syracusan ruler, offered to send an army on condition that he should receive the chief command, but this could not have been arranged, nor in any case could he have carried out his promises, for Xerxes had made alliance with Carthage, and Sicily was invaded by the Carthaginians simultaneously with the invasion of Greece by the Persians.

Greece had therefore to fight her own battle, unaided by her colonies, and having indeed many at home surreptitiously on the side of the enemy. Even the Delphic Apollo seems to

have been tampered with, and when consulted it sent a lugubrious response.

480. At last the crisis arrived, the vast army was gathered, and the march began. Nothing was left undone by Xerxes to ensure success. A double bridge of boats had been built over the Hellespont, a canal cut through the peninsula of Athos, and provisions stored at every halting place on the route. The bridge was crossed under the eye of Xerxes himself, and a review was afterwards held at Dorsicus, where the men were counted. What the exact numbers were can only be guessed, but probably there were not less than 800,000 fighting men. Many of these were, however, so wretchedly armed and trained as to be a mere encumbrance, and it is safe to say that if Xerxes had weeded his army, and left half at home, he would have added to the efficiency of his expedition.

In addition to the army there was a fine fleet raised in Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Egypt, numbering 1,200 line of battle ships, with many transports, and on each man-of-war thirty marines in addition to the regular seamen.

Thanks to the foresight of Themistocles, it was possible to encounter Xerxes by sea as well as by land. The command of the army was given to Leonidas, king of Sparta and it would have been fitting that the command at sea should have been given to Themistocles, seeing that so large a proportion of the fleet was Athenian; but owing to the jealousy of Ægina and Corinth, Themistocles waived his claim, and the command was given to Eurybiades, a Spartan, an obstinate and incapable man, who was only kept right by Themistocles' strenuous efforts.

In spite of the generosity of Athens it was most difficult to obtain whole-hearted combination amongst the Greeks, and many would rather have submitted than fought, for it was realised that Athens and Sparta were the states chiefly threatened, and there was much jealousy of Athens and hatred of Sparta.

The first part of the Persian march was unopposed. Thrace,

which had resisted the expedition under Mardonius, was either bribed or overawed, and the chief difficulty was that of finding food for the vast concourse. The various cities on the line of march were each ordered to supply one full meal for the whole army, and a witty citizen recommended his fellows to go to the temples and thank the gods that Xerxes ate but one meal a day.

Even when Thrace had been traversed and the river Strymon crossed, Xerxes met with no opposition, for Alexander, the prince of Macedonia, was tributary, and, albeit somewhat half-heartedly, accompanied Xerxes on his march.

As it seemed impossible for the Greeks to meet this mighty host in open field, it was determined to guard the passes, and the Vale of Tempe lying north of Thessaly was occupied, but when it was perceived that this position could be easily turned, it was abandoned.

The retreat from Tempe, though perhaps unavoidable, had this unfortunate result, that it left the largest of the Greek states open to the invader, for the Thessalians had now no resource but to send earth and water to Xerxes. It was determined to make the supreme effort at Thermopylæ, and thither accordingly Leonidas marched with his army, whilst the fleet drew up alongside to prevent the pass being turned by way of the sea.

Even now, with Xerxes at hand and ruin imminent, the Spartans refused to send more than a handful of men, making the pitiful excuse that they were celebrating a festival. Leonidas, therefore, had to march with only 300 Spartans to which were added 3,000 men from the Peloponnesian allies. On the way towards Thermopylæ he gathered men at the various cities, and when he reached the pass and was joined by the Phocian and Locrian troops he had 10,000 under his command. On his arrival he learned that there was a difficult path over the mountains by which the pass might be turned, and he entrusted the defence of this path to the Phocians at their own request.

Whilst the army of Xerxes was marching towards Thermopylæ, his fleet was moving southward in its support, and the Greeks had stationed their vessels near Artemisium to dispute the straits there and prevent the Persian fleet from passing Thermopylæ and taking the army of Leonidas in the rear. When the Persian fleet reached Cape Sepias it anchored, and would have offered battle next day, but during the night a storm arose which lasted for three days and did enormous damage. The Greeks, who had meanwhile been snugly sheltered in harbour, sailed out after the storm, hoping to profit by the confusion, but found the Persian fleet still so large that they retreated in some alarm. The Peloponnesian captains would in fact have returned home under the plea of obtaining reinforcements, but the Eubœans, who dreaded being left without the protection of the fleet, bribed them to remain.

Meanwhile the Persians had recovered from the storm, and seeing the Greek fleet thus concentrated, ordered 200 ships to sail round Eubœa and block the southern end of the strait, whilst the rest of the squadron gave battle at Artemisium. An indecisive action was fought, but in the night there was another storm, and again the Persians lost heavily, the detached squadron being almost destroyed. After this there were two days of desultory fighting, and then news came from Thermopylæ which changed the whole situation.

Xerxes had traversed Thessaly and crossed the Othrys mountain range without opposition, but when he reached Thermopylæ he found it occupied. He might have turned the pass, for there were inland roads by which his army could have gone, but they were circuitous and had he taken them he would have lost touch with his fleet. He determined, therefore, to force it, and concentrated his army with that intention, the disaster to the fleet delaying him for some days.

When Leonidas left Sparta with his handful of men, the Spartans had promised that large reinforcements should follow, and for these he looked eagerly. Had even a moderate rein-

forcement reached him, Xerxes' campaign might have ended at Thermopylæ, but Sparta betrayed her great general, and he and his Spartan comrades realised that they had been sent to their death.

At last Xerxes ordered the attack. It was begun by Medes and Elamites, who advanced confidently in a deep column to take the madmen alive and bring them to the king. Leonidas was defending the pass at its narrowest point, in front of the Phocian wall, where only a few could fight at a time; so that by dividing his men into companies who fought and rested in turn he kept them continually fresh.

The Orientals advanced bravely, but only to be slaughtered. As at Marathon, so here, their light weapons, wicker shields and half-naked bodies, could accomplish nothing against the well-armoured Greeks with their long spears. When the Medes and Elamites were withdrawn and the Persian immortals dashed forward, the result was the same; if they fought more bravely it was but to sustain greater loss. For two days the fighting thus went on, until the Persian officers had to lash their men forward with whips, and the pass was heaped with their dead.

But on the second night a traitor told Xerxes of the path over the mountains by which the pass could be turned. It need not be matter of surprise that a traitor was found to reveal the secret, the wonder rather was that Xerxes did not learn it before, for he had been at Thermopylæ a week, and there must have been many at hand who knew the path and concealed their knowledge. Xerxes at once sent picked troops by the new route, but these might have found their task impossible had not the Phocians, who were guarding the path, basely fled at the first onslaught.

In the morning Leonidas heard what had happened and knew that his position was no longer tenable. A conference was held and the majority were for retreating. Leonidas, however, stood firm, and a devoted band remained with him. Xerxes would have deferred the attack, but Leonidas,

knowing that his time was short, took the initiative and advancing from his barrier threw himself upon the enemy. The slaughter of Persians was terrific, but Leonidas fell early in the day, and the rest, utterly wearied, retired to a hillock, where they were slain by missiles, the enemy not daring to come within reach of their spears. At Thermopylæ 4,000 Greeks and 20,000 Persians were slain. So far as numbers were concerned the loss was heavier for the Greeks than for their enemies, for they could less easily afford it. But the moral effect of the battle upon the Persians was tremendous. Never had they dreamed that men could fight as the Greeks had fought, and to them now every Greek was a Leonidas. King and soldiers alike had lost the confidence with which they began the campaign, and though it might have been wiser had Leonidas and his brave troops drawn back when the pass was turned, and waited for another opportunity, it could not be said that they had died in vain.

CHAPTER XII.

SALAMIS.

When the admirals of the fleet heard about Thermopylæ, 480.
knowing that it was now useless to remain at Artemisium they sailed down the strait, rounded Cape Sunium and anchored opposite the island of Salamis.

So far the Spartans had shown no real appreciation of the importance of the crisis. Leonidas had been sacrificed to their dulness of perception and jealousy of Athens; and now that the Persian army had passed Thermopylæ, and Athens was at its feet, the population of Peloponnesus hurried out, not to defend Attica, but to build a wall to separate their peninsula from the rest of Greece. In this they showed little wisdom, firstly, because the wall, even if it defended Peloponnesus proper, left Megara, Attica and Ægina at the mercy of the invader; and secondly, because whilst Xerxes commanded the sea he could land forces on the other side of any wall they might build. The Spartans thought only of themselves, but not even so did they think wisely.

Fortunately the Athenians kept their heads clear, and when they saw that their interests were neglected by the other states they abandoned Athens, removed their women and children to safe quarters in Salamis, Ægina and Trœzen, and put all their combatants on board the fleet—now their only hope.

When, therefore, the Persians advanced, they found Athens practically undefended, and having stormed the Acropolis where a few desperate men had congregated, they set the city on fire.

The Persian fleet followed the Greeks round Cape Sunium

and was reviewed by Xerxes in the Bay of Phalerum; whilst the Greek fleet, numbering 378 vessels, lay a few miles off in the narrow strait between Attica and Salamis. The hope of the Athenians lay in fighting, but the Peloponnesian captains loudly demanded permission to return home, on the plea of co-operating with their land forces. Eurybiades, the Spartan admiral, hesitated, and Themistocles, knowing that if the fleet left Salamis it would never come together again, argued vehemently for battle. When he had been insulted and threatened with blows in the conference, and saw that the Peloponnesians were bent on retreating, he declared that if they left Salamis he would withdraw the Athenian contingent, which amounted to half the fleet, carry the inhabitants of Athens to Italy, and leave Greece to its fate. This threat alarmed Eurybiades, and he decided to fight; but Themistocles, knowing that he would change his mind if there was any delay, determined to precipitate conflict. Accordingly he sent a confidential Asiatic slave to the Persians to see Xerxes and tell him that the Greeks were quarrelling amongst themselves, and that if he did not take care their fleet would escape him in the night. Xerxes took the bait and at once gave orders to shut the Greeks in, commanding that not one opening should be left for their escape on pain of death. That night there was another stormy conference amongst the captains, who, unaware of what was happening, even yet thought of retreat. During the conference a stranger arrived to speak with Themistocles. It was the exiled Aristeides, the sentence against whom had been revoked on the proposition of Themistocles, and who returned at this critical moment to share the fortunes of his fellow citizens. He brought the news that they were surrounded and that he had only got through the Persian line with the utmost difficulty. Others, arriving later, confirmed his story, and the captains, seeing now no help for it, went to their ships to prepare for battle.

At daybreak the Persians were ready as if for a spectacular display. Xerxes sat on a throne on the slope of Mount

Ægialeus to watch the battle, with scribes beside him ready to note instances of special valour. With all their losses the Persians had still 1,000 vessels, and their overwhelming numbers made them sure of victory. When morning broke the Persian fleet advanced somewhat ponderously with wind and tide against them. The Greeks were by no means anxious for battle, and many would even then have retreated had retreat been possible, but as all were hesitating, Ameinias of Pallene, an Athenian captain, suddenly dashed out and rammed a vessel of the enemy. Inspired by his courage others followed, and the battle became general. It was no child's play for the Greeks, for the Persian ships were largely manned by Phœnicians, who were splendid sailors and brave men. But the Greeks would take no denial, and at length the engagement was seen to be turning in their favour. The Persian ships began to give way and drift, and as, owing to the narrowness of the strait, their reserves were jammed, their numbers only added to the confusion. At last night fell, and the Persians withdrew beaten and utterly demoralised.

Next morning the Greeks were eager to renew the fray but Xerxes' heart was sick—he had seen enough of war. He had still a huge army and a formidable fleet, but his spirit was broken. He had set out for Greece a god—his pride was in the dust. Moreover, he had lost confidence in the fleet. Himself no fighter, and unable to understand the difficulties his men had to surmount, he bitterly reproached his admirals, and so threatened the Phœnicians, his best sailors, that, angry and alarmed, they deserted. Xerxes now began to fear for his own safety. If he were no longer supreme at sea, what was to prevent the Greeks from destroying the bridge of boats over the Hellespont and cutting off his retreat? Better for him to escape whilst he could. Themistocles, guessing what would be in his mind, sent him another adroit message, stating that it was only with difficulty that he was restraining the Greeks from sending ships to break down the bridge. The facts were really the other way, for Themistocles had advised

that this should be done, but the rest thought it too risky. Moreover, curiously enough, unknown to both Xerxes and Themistocles, the bridge had already been destroyed by a storm. But the message served its purpose, and Xerxes, grateful to Themistocles, determined to return at once. His officers encouraged his decision. The presence of a great personage in an army, unless he is himself a warrior capable of leading and inspiring, is a disadvantage; and Mardonius and the other generals knew that if Xerxes would but depart and take with him the useless portion of the army, they would have a better chance of conquering Greece with the remainder. Accordingly they cajoled him into believing that in destroying Athens he had done the greater part of the work, and might retire with dignity, leaving the rest to be accomplished by his subordinates. Xerxes, therefore, allowed Mardonius to choose 300,000 men, and with the remainder set out on his return journey. It took them forty-five days to reach the Hellespont, and they were days of suffering, for no arrangements had been made for food, and the men had to live on roots and anything else they could get. When they approached the Hellespont they found the bridge broken, but by this time their fleet had arrived from Greece and they were carried across slowly but in safety.

CHAPTER XIII.

PLATÆA.

MARDONIUS wintered in Thessaly where his force, still thrice as large as anything likely to be brought against him by the Greeks, had time to recuperate after the distressing events of the last campaign. In the spring he tried hard to win the 479.
Athenians from the confederation, sending Alexander of Macedon as his envoy. Mardonius offered tempting terms to the Athenians: they would be uninjured, might have what territory they liked, their city would be rebuilt at Persian expense, and so on. On the other hand, what had they to expect if they refused? Sparta would probably play them false, and the city which they had reoccupied would be again destroyed. Yet, notwithstanding temptation on the one hand and danger on the other, the Athenians replied with defiance.

This being settled they sought help from Sparta to hold the passes, and received fair promises, but when Mardonius advanced the Peloponnesians reverted to their selfish policy and refused to cross their fortified wall. Once more, therefore, the Athenians had to evacuate their city, and Mardonius occupied it without opposition. The feeling of the Athenians towards Sparta was now most bitter, and envoys were sent to remonstrate. The Spartans kept the envoys waiting for ten days, and would have sent them empty away, but that a Tegean asked them of what use the wall across the isthmus would be if the Athenians accepted the terms offered them by Mardonius, and put their fleet at his disposal, so that Persian soldiers could be landed inside their fortifications. The Spartans had overlooked this most obvious danger, but when they saw it, they acted

quickly enough, for that night 5,000 Spartans set out to join the Athenians with the promise of more to follow.

Having once changed their tactics, the Spartans threw their best energies into the war, and a force was speedily gathered from all sides. Mardonius, perceiving the new aspect of affairs, retired from Athens and fortified a camp near Platæa, where he had the friendly city of Thebes to fall back upon for supplies. On the hill slopes opposite, the Greeks drew together the largest army they had ever put in the field, 40,000 hoplites, and an equal number of light armed troops—the whole under the generalship of Pausanias, a brave man but by no means brilliant.

For some days the armies thus faced each other, the Greeks suffering from attacks by the Persian cavalry, yet not daring to descend to the plain to give battle, while Mardonius feared to attack them on the hilly ground. At last the Greeks fell short of water and determined to retire by night to a better camping place. The movement was wretchedly executed, and in the morning, the Athenians and Spartans, who formed the wings, were still retreating, whilst the centre had gone back a mile too far. Mardonius saw the confusion and thinking the moment opportune gave orders for an immediate attack, and dashed forward without even forming line of battle. The right wing was first overtaken, and Pausanias, sending word to the Athenians that he was engaged, turned and faced the enemy. The centre had retreated too far to be of use, and the fighting fell upon the wings.

The Spartans had to face chosen troops, and for a minute or two, whilst Pausanias was engaged at the sacrifices, the Persian arrows did mischief, but at last word came that the omens were favourable, and the Spartans charged with a will. The Persians fought well, but their courage availed little; they began to give way, Mardonius was struck down, and soon they were in full flight.

Meanwhile the Athenians, on the left wing, had a harder task, for they were fighting the Bœotians, Greeks like them-

selves, and "when Greek met Greek, then came the tug of war". But when the Bœotians saw that the main body was beaten, they retired in good order to Thebes, so that the Athenians were free to advance. By this time the Greek centre had arrived, and a general attack was made on the fortified camp where the Persians were standing at bay. After a fierce struggle it was carried, and the rest was massacre.

Artabazus was at the head of 40,000 men who formed the Persian reserve. When he reached the field the army was in full flight, and seeing that the day was lost, he turned without striking a blow, hastened northward, and by marching day and night kept ahead of the news of the disaster and reached Asia in safety. A few scattered bands probably managed to join him and thus escape—the remainder of the army was annihilated. The spoil which the Greeks found in the camp was enormous, never had there been such a division of booty.

About the time of the battle of Platæa—it is said on the very day—an important battle was fought in Asia. The Greek fleet had crossed to watch the Persians, and encountered a squadron at Mycale, near Miletus. Remembering Salamis, the Persians feared to engage the Greeks on sea, and hauled up their ships in order that they might have the support of a Persian army which lay upon the shore. The Greeks, determined not to be baulked, landed and attacked them. After a sharp struggle the Asiatic Greeks who were serving with the Persians deserted to their fellow-countrymen and the rest fled, leaving their camp and 300 ships to the enemy. The result of the battle of Mycale was far reaching. Miletus declared for independence at once, the other Asiatic Greeks quickly followed her example; and Xerxes, who had been lingering at Sardis in hope of good news from Mardonius, returned to Susa with the miserable remnants of his army, having not only lost his hold upon Europe but part of his most important Asiatic province as well. 479.

In the hour of triumph the European Greeks saw the

necessity for making provision with regard to the future; and, on the motion of Aristeides, a permanent defensive league was formed, to meet at Platæa—a city which, on account of its services to Greece, was declared free and inviolable.

The condition of the Asiatic Greeks was also discussed, and as the difficulty of defending them seemed great, the Spartans proposed that they should be invited to migrate to Europe, and when Athens refused to agree, declined any further responsibility for their defence.

After the victory at Mycale the Greeks sailed to the Hellespont where they found the bridge of boats already destroyed. The Peloponnesian portion of the fleet then went home, but the Athenian squadron remained to attempt the expulsion of the Persians from the Chersonese. This had formerly been largely under Athenian control, but of late Athenians had not been safe there, their property had been confiscated, and the route to the Black Sea had become impossible for their trade. The Greek inhabitants of the peninsula welcomed their compatriots, and the Athenians captured Sestos, after which, having laden their ships with spoil, and carrying, as trophies, portions of the vast cables which had moored the bridge of boats, they joyfully returned home.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REBUILDING OF ATHENS.

History tells of no greater military failure than the expedition of Xerxes, and judging from it, we might be inclined to disparage the Persians and glorify the Greeks overmuch. The fact is, that all nations are about equally brave, and when one is crushed and another triumphant, courage is only one of the elements involved. The Persian army was in great measure an undisciplined mob, having neither arms nor armour suitable for a contest with the Greeks, and it was led by a man without military qualities, so that we need not wonder at the result. Led by Cyrus or Darius the Persians would have given a much better account of themselves, although even then they could hardly have hoped for success.

The Greeks, on the other hand, though valiant enough, showed on various occasions poor generalship, and their disunion was a constant source of peril. Anything more scandalous than Sparta's desertion of Leonidas at Thermopylæ can scarcely be conceived; from Salamis the Peloponnesians would have fled but for the determination and daring stratagem of Themistocles; and at Platæa bad generalship brought a fine army almost to the brink of ruin.

Greece was saved primarily by Athens and Themistocles. From first to last the Athenians had taken the initiative, and it was only the persistence and threats of Themistocles that kept the other states to their duty. Although their territory was twice ravaged, and their city twice destroyed, the Athenians never wavered in their patriotism, and at Platæa they showed as much courage as the Spartans and better discipline.

Athens had deserved well of Greece and it might have been expected that the other states, recognising this, would have helped her in every way. But it was far otherwise.

479. After the battle of Platæa the Athenians returned to a city in ruins, and began to rebuild it for the second time. Instead of building the walls on their old foundations they determined, on the advice of Themistocles, to erect them on so large a scale that the population of Attica might shelter within the area if necessary. This precaution did not meet with the approval of the other states, and Ægina and Corinth protested and asked Sparta to interfere. The Spartans sent an embassy to Athens to complain, but Themistocles managed with rare adroitness to keep them in play until, by working day and night, the Athenians had raised the wall sufficiently high for defensive purposes, after which the Spartans, though greatly mortified, accepted the inevitable.

Having successfully completed the fortifications of Athens, Themistocles next got the Athenians to build strong walls round Piræus, the Athenian seaport. Piræus had splendid harbourage, and now that it was well fortified, and that the maritime supremacy of Athens was unquestionable, commerce and population increased rapidly. Trade with foreign countries was warmly encouraged, many of alien birth came to reside at Piræus, and this town was soon nearly as important, commercially, as the capital.

Whilst home affairs were thus prospering, foreign policy was not neglected. After the battle of Mycale and the subsequent successes of the Athenian contingent, most of the cities of the Asiatic Greeks were freed from the Persians though not all. With the view of finishing the work a joint expedition, promoted by Athens and Sparta, sailed under the command of Pausanias, the Athenians forming the larger portion of the fleet.

478. Byzantium was captured by the expedition, and this success, coupled with that at Platæa which had been attained nominally under his generalship, turned the head of Pausanias.

Although a man of very ordinary ability, he took all the credit to himself, and his ambition was fired in the most ridiculous way. Disliking the restraints of Spartan life, and enamoured of Oriental luxury, he determined to ally himself with Persia and to become king, not only of Sparta but of all Greece.

Accordingly he wrote to Xerxes, and receiving a cordial reply, fancied the prize already within his grasp, and began to hector and domineer over his comrades. The Greeks would not tolerate this, and complaints having been sent to Sparta he was recalled. Before his successor could arrive there had been an open mutiny, and the captains of the other contingents asked the Athenian leaders to take command. Dorcis, his successor, therefore arrived too late, and, finding his orders ignored, returned home, leaving the fleet under the control of Aristeides and Cimon the Athenians.

When Pausanias returned to Sparta he was put upon his trial for treason, but, probably from motives of policy, acquitted. Instead of taking warning he returned to Asia and resumed his treasonable correspondence, so that he was again recalled to Sparta, where, instead of being tried a second time, he was watched. In his exasperation he not only continued corresponding with Persia but planned a rising amongst the Helots. At length he was caught red-handed, and as he took refuge in a temple, the doors were bricked up and he was 469.
starved to death.

The Athenians had now full command of the fleet, and it was determined to continue the war against Persia until every Greek city was free.

A confederation was therefore entered into between the various maritime states, by the terms of which it was agreed that Athens should have the leadership, that the states should unite to furnish ships, men and money for the war, and that no state should secede from the confederation without consent from the rest. The money was to be raised by assessment, stored in the sacred island of Delos, and administered by a board of delegates over whom the Athenian delegate should preside.

Such was the confidence of the Greeks in Aristeides that he was entrusted with the delicate task of fixing the proportions to be paid by the various states; and the first assessment, amounting to 460 talents, was cheerfully contributed.

The confederacy of Delos was, therefore, in the first instance a purely military organisation, having for its object the liberation of the Greek cities from Persian rule, and so successfully was it managed that in a few years the Persian garrisons had been swept from Europe and from the Asiatic cities on the western coast of Asia Minor. These successes, attributable mainly to the excellent leadership of Athens, induced many other cities to join the confederacy, so that Sparta, formerly the undisputed leader of the Grecian states, had now to divide that honour with Athens.

The Peloponnesians remained faithful to Sparta for the most part, but the islands of the Ægean Sea, the Asiatic seaports and the coast towns in Thrace and the Chalcidian peninsula joined the confederacy of Delos and recognised the Athenian leadership. This well-deserved exaltation Athens owed to the foresight of Themistocles. It was his persistence that had induced them to build the fleet which saved Greece, freed the cities of the Asiatic Greeks, and made Athens leader of the maritime league. Unfortunately, Themistocles had not been as careful of himself as of his country. He was a brilliant man but not finely sensitive on questions of honour, and so long as he gained his end he thought little of the means. In time of war when the moral code is by common consent laid aside, his crooked methods suited the occasion; but later, when the more solid virtues of peace were required, Themistocles was found wanting.

471. At last he was ostracised and went to live at Argos. This was before the death of Pausanias, and that archplotter endeavoured to make him an accomplice. There was no proof that Themistocles ever consented to be a party to his intrigues, but he did not reveal them. This was not a crime, for the plotting of Pausanias had been rather against Sparta than

Athens, but when Pausanias fell, and proof of correspondence with Themistocles was produced, he was ordered back to Athens to stand his trial. He had too many enemies to make this safe, and so after being chased about for two years he took refuge with Artaxerxes, who now sat on the Persian throne. He was well received and presented with the province of Magnesia which he ruled until his death. With the resources of Artaxerxes at his command he might have revenged himself on Athens in many ways, but he refrained; and, though he was unscrupulous where other countries were concerned, there is no proof that he was ever disloyal towards his own. Themistocles was not a model of virtue, but his extraordinary services must be held to outweigh his faults. To him more than to any other must be given the credit of overthrowing Xerxes, and laying the foundation of Athenian greatness.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RISE OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

THE maritime league of which Athens became head was called the confederacy of Delos, because its treasure was originally kept in that island, and its deputies met there to transact the business of the league. After a time, for safety and convenience, the treasure was removed to Athens, and the delegates from the more distant places ceasing to attend the meetings of the confederacy, the custody and administration of the money fell almost entirely into the hands of the Athenians.

During its early years the league was of great service, for there were many Persian garrisons which had to be dealt with before Greece could be said to be free, and whilst the work of liberation was in progress, the states gladly followed Athenian leadership, and willingly did all that was required of them as members of the confederacy.

The arrangement was that the members should supply yearly either a specified number of ships and men, or their equivalent in money. The alternative seemed reasonable, but it did not work out well in practice. Had each state continued to supply its quota of men and ships, all would have remained on an equal footing. But most of them, wearying of personal service, compounded for money, allowing Athens to find the men and ships herself. Thus it happened that whilst the other states were voluntarily disarming, the fleet of Athens was increasing to an abnormal extent; so that, without any sinister purpose, she became overwhelmingly strong, whilst those who should have been her partners became merely tributaries.

It was not to be expected that this could go on without discontent, and when the danger from Persia had passed, some of the cities endeavoured to secede from the confederacy. Athens, as president, thought herself bound to oppose this secession by force of arms, and thus by degrees she became little better than a despotic power with subject states. Hence Athens became unpopular, and it was a matter for regret since she was eminently fitted to lead, and had the confederacy been based upon a better foundation, her leadership might have endured.

Aristeides died shortly after the exile of Themistocles, and 468.
Cimon became leader in Athens. Cimon was the son of Miltiades, and for his father's sake, and because he was himself a man of undoubted merit, he was deservedly popular. He had unfortunately an inordinate reverence for Sparta, and though the failing did not prevent his being loyal to Athens at heart, it led him into actions which were not entirely for her benefit. Cimon thought that Athens and Sparta should divide the leadership between them, Athens making her empire on the sea, Sparta maintaining hers on shore. He forgot that Sparta had never shown the faintest desire to help any one but herself, and he failed to realise that her government, resting as it did upon slavery and oppression, could never truly sympathise with that of the Athenian democracy.

Pericles who led the opposition to Cimon's foreign policy, though also an aristocrat, had clearer political vision. He perceived that Sparta would never be a true ally of Athens, but would remain her jealous enemy; he knew that sooner or later the states would be at war, and whilst anxious to avoid anything that would precipitate conflict, he thought the true policy was to strengthen Athens and leave Sparta severely alone.

Cimon was entrusted with an important expedition against the Persians, and gained a great victory over them at the Eurymedon. Though the western coast of Asia was free, the cities

on the southern coast in Lycia and Pamphylia were still under Persian suzerainty, and the confederacy of Delos determined that they also should be freed. A Persian fleet numbering
466. 200 vessels gathered at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, and a reinforcement of eighty vessels was hourly expected from Cyprus. Cimon attacked the larger squadron vigorously, and they ran their ships aground, so that they might have the protection of forces on shore, but the Greeks also landed, defeated the army, and destroyed the fleet. After this achievement they took ship quickly and sailing towards Cyprus met the reinforcement and broke it to pieces. This triple victory greatly elated the Greeks, and so discouraged the Persians that it was many years before they attempted anything further upon the sea.

The dread of Persia having now been removed, and her weakness abundantly demonstrated, the object of the confederacy of Delos was to a certain extent accomplished, and it would have been wiser for Athens had she, recognising this, reduced the tribute to such nominal sum as would have sufficed to keep the seas clear. But Athens had tasted the sweets of power, and when any of the states desired to withdraw from the alliance she treated them as rebels.

466. Naxos, an island in the Cyclades, was the first to secede. In strict justice Athens ought either to have allowed the secession, or summoned the other members of the confederacy and laid the matter before them. But instead of thus carrying her allies with her, she acted on her own responsibility, blockaded the island, captured it, destroyed its fortifications and confiscated its ships—an exhibition of high-handed conduct which alarmed the other members of the league, and did Athens no good.

465. The next trouble came from Thasos, an island opposite Thrace. The inhabitants of Thasos had enjoyed a monopoly of the trade in that region, but the Athenians captured Eion, a neighbouring city on the mainland, and tried to make it an important commercial centre. Upon this the Thasians

deeming their prosperity imperilled, withdrew from the confederacy, allied themselves with the Thracians, and craved help from Sparta.

The Spartans were becoming increasingly jealous of Athens and would have gladly helped, but just at that time their state was overtaken by a series of disasters. First came an earth- 464.
quake—the worst ever felt in Peloponnesus. Sparta was greatly shaken and partly destroyed; there were severe landslips, and many lives were lost. So serious was the disaster that the Helots were encouraged to revolt, and the revolt spread widely over Laconia and Messenia. The insurgents seized the fortress of Ithome, and fought with such desperation that the Spartans made no headway against them and had to solicit aid from Athens. Cimon, whose pro-Spartan policy has been already mentioned, warmly pleaded on their behalf, and though stoutly opposed by Ephialtes and Pericles, he persuaded the Athenians to send him with 4,000 men to their help. Even with this reinforcement the Spartans were unsuccessful, and in their exasperation they foolishly laid the blame on the Athenians, and told them they might go home. The insult was bitterly resented at Athens. Cimon lost his popularity, Ephialtes and Pericles took his place, the alliance with Sparta was broken off, and a treaty made with Argos, her hereditary enemy.

The opposition had taken advantage of the absence of 462.
Cimon in Peloponnesus to carry certain political reforms. Of these the most important was the limitation of the power of the Areopagus, an assembly which had become increasingly aristocratic in tone, the members holding office for life and not being elected by the people.

After a fierce struggle the opposition deprived the Areopagus of its censorship and veto, leaving it merely a court for the trial of homicide. The powers thus taken from the Areopagus were divided between the Senate and the Ecclesia. All this was done during Cimon's absence, and when he returned he was enraged and endeavoured to have the law repealed. But

the failure of his Spartan expedition, and his pro-Spartan
461. policy generally had made him unpopular and he was ostracised. The discussion of these questions, and the banishment of Cimon, raised much bitterness of feeling, and Ephialtes was assassinated, so that Pericles now became the first man in Athens.

CHAPTER XVI.

PERICLES.

We have seen how rapidly Athens advanced under the republic. Republican government does not necessarily mean that the affairs of a country are controlled by poor men. Under every form of government rich men generally manage to come to the front, for money means power. But in a republic every one has a voice, and the poor man feels that he counts for something in affairs of state. Now ever since the reforms of Cleisthenes, Athens had been a republic; and, owing to this and to the peculiar trials through which the country had passed, there was a strong feeling of unity amongst the citizens. When the invader came and Athens had to be evacuated, rich and poor fled together, the rich opening their purses freely to help their poorer neighbours. When the women and children were safe, the rich man and the poor fought shoulder to shoulder at Salamis and Platæa, and when they came back to find their city in ruins they found in their common sorrow yet another bond of union. This sympathetic feeling found expression in various political reforms, amongst which was one which abrogated the old timocratic distinction and made poor men as well as rich eligible for office. Aristeides carried this provision and though it made little difference to the men elected—it was a popular enactment. Aristeides guided the republic with wisdom, and after his death Cimon carried on the task to the best of his judgment, but not to the satisfaction of the people.

Pericles, who succeeded to power on the ostracism of 461.

Cimon and death of Ephialtes, was the greatest of Athenian statesmen. He was of noble birth and lofty purpose, a deep thinker and a great orator, a supporter of republic institutions—not for the sake of pleasing the people, but because he believed them to be necessary for the full development of a state. When Cimon and his party tried to keep the constitution in the old groove, Pericles advocated reform, perceiving that changed times demanded changed methods. The obscure town had become a commercial metropolis and head of a powerful league; its markets were thronged with the merchants of the world; its navy was unsurpassed. Athens had, in the judgment of Pericles, been called to govern, and it was his ambition that her citizens should walk worthy of their high vocation.

In politics Pericles' guiding principle was that what concerns all should be approved by all. Although himself noble he had little confidence in the special wisdom of his class, and believed that with all their faults the mass of the people were more likely to form an impartial judgment upon questions of political importance than any special section of them. That they might the better accomplish this, he spared no pains to train the citizens for their duties. The powers of the aristocratic Areopagus were transferred to the popular assemblies, and every citizen was made to feel that he had a direct interest in good government. The poor wise man was as free to serve the state as the rich, and thus all were encouraged—their intelligence was quickened, and a worthy field of ambition opened to all.

It may be that Pericles had too much faith in humanity. Knowing only too well the selfishness of the aristocracy, he may have forgotten that selfishness is not an attribute of the aristocracy alone, but that the poor as well as the rich have their share. Yet if he erred, it was on the safer side. He believed in Athens and in the people. His political life extended over forty years, during thirty of which he led the state, yet remaining a simple citizen, never ruling by force,

but influencing all by his wisdom, eloquence and manifest singleness of purpose.

It was under Pericles that Athens developed those artistic qualities which made her the wonder of the world. She had a large revenue. The confederacy had become an empire and the subscription to the common fund a tribute, in return for which Athens kept the Persians in check and the sea free from pirates. But when she had done this, there remained a surplus, out of which Pericles thought at least a portion should be devoted to beautifying the metropolis of the Grecian world. Accordingly he spent money freely in civic improvements, laying out the streets with extreme care, and adorning the city with magnificent buildings: the Parthenon, the Odeon the Propylæa, the Erechtheum and many others, some of them of surpassing beauty. The chief director of these works was Phidias, an artist born just after Marathon, who made his reputation as a sculptor at an early age, and was chosen by Pericles, not only to execute the principal statues, but to oversee all the works of art which were to embellish the city. Phidias was a man of colossal genius who emancipated himself from the conventionalism of the past and gave to the world new conceptions of architecture and sculpture. He employed as assistants the best workmen he could obtain, and, as money was plentiful, they worked wonders in Athens.

Nor were the literary achievements of the city at this time less important. From the beginning of the republic mental life had been continually quickening, and the effect was felt on every side. Herodotus, the historian, an Asiatic Greek by birth but Athenian at heart, belonged to the time of Pericles, though he survived him for many years; and Thucydides, the historian of the Peloponnesian war, was his contemporary and a powerful political opponent. Science also was studied at Athens, though under difficulties, for the Athenians were in all things too superstitious, and had not yet learned that men may desire to search out the secrets of nature without being infidels. Finally, in the realm of philo-

sophy it is hardly too much to say that the researches which sprang from the quickened intelligence of this period originated methods of reasoning and started lines of thought which have guided the intellectual world ever since.

Pericles could not make the Athenians readers, for in his day books could only be possessed by the wealthy. But he did better, he made them thinkers, awakening and enlivening their faculties, and infusing new interest into their daily life.

The leader of the opposition during this period was Thucydides, a man not greatly inferior to Pericles as a speaker, but by no means his equal in other ways. Thucydides represented the aristocratic party and opposed the new policy. The opposition was chiefly directed against the method by which Pericles conducted foreign affairs—Thucydides urging that Athenians should not so extend their empire as to arouse the envy of other states, and that they ought not to employ the money contributed by the confederacy in beautifying their own city.

It must be confessed that there was much justice in the argument put forward by Thucydides, but Pericles contended that the money was paid for protection; and that, so long as Athens protected her allies, she might use the surplus as she felt inclined. The argument was plausible, but it lost sight of the twofold nature of a contract, and it would have been fairer all round, and better for themselves in the long run, had the Athenians reduced the assessment to the amount actually required for defensive purposes, and spent only the surplus of their own proper revenue upon the decoration of their city.

CHAPTER XVII.

ATHENS AT HER ZENITH.

We have now seen how, after the Persian wars, the coast towns and islands of Greece formed a maritime league with Athens as leader, and how powerful the league became. Its rise was the more rapid as the confederacy of Peloponnesian States, so long led by Sparta, was checked by the revolt of Laconia and Messenia. There was a third league in Greece, the Bœotian, of which Thebes was leader, and between the Bœotian and Athenian leagues there was bitter hostility at all times.

We have also seen how, when all danger from Persia had passed away, the confederacy of Delos began to break up, first Naxos and then Thasos seceding and having to be forced back to their allegiance. We saw also that in Athens itself there was difference of opinion with regard to foreign policy, some wishing to keep on friendly terms with Sparta, and some averse to further expansion of empire, but that Pericles eventually became supreme, a man who had profound faith in the destiny of Athens and was determined to increase her power.

With the object of strengthening the position of Athens, Pericles made alliance with Megara, the state lying due west of Attica. Megara was at war with Corinth, and asked help from Athens, and it was accorded. It seemed a wise thing for Athens to have Megara on her side, for the state lay between Sparta and Attica, and being mountainous could be easily defended. In case of war with the Spartans it would evidently be easier for the Athenians to meet them in the mountains of Megara than in Attica.

458. But Athens profited nothing by this alliance. It bitterly offended the Corinthians, who, in turn, allied themselves with Ægina, Athens' mortal foe, and declared war against the com-
460. mon enemy. They did this with the more confidence because Athens had shortly before weakened her fleet by sending 200 vessels to Egypt to help Inarus in his revolt against Artaxerxes. But they underestimated the resources of the Athenians who, notwithstanding this serious diminution of their strength, gained a great victory over the fleets of Corinth and Ægina combined, after which they landed on the island of Ægina and blockaded the town. The Corinthians, thinking Athens stripped of her defenders, seized the golden opportunity and marched on the city, but the Athenians who had been left at home, too young or too old to be with the army, sallied forth and routed the Corinthians with great slaughter. Thus at the same time the Athenians were holding their own in Ægina, Megara and Egypt. A pillar was erected giving the names of
458. the Athenians who died for their country that year, and a fragment of the inscription still remains.

During the same year a work was undertaken calculated to increase greatly the defensive power of Athens. The port of Piræus lay four miles from the capital, and both towns were fortified, but if attacked by land they could be easily severed and blockaded separately. This was the more serious as Athens depended for her food upon supplies coming by sea, and Piræus was her only port. So long as the Athenian fleet kept command of the sea, food could be brought to Piræus, but if Athens were surrounded this supply would fail. To remedy this state of things two parallel walls were built connecting Athens with her port, about 200 yards apart and four miles long; and as these walls could be easily defended, a safe passage was ensured between the cities, and starvation was impossible while Athens kept command of the sea. Later on an intermediate wall was built, giving an alternative route and thus making assurance doubly sure.

The rapid rise of Athens and her gigantic preparations for

defence alarmed her rivals. Of these none hated her more bitterly than Thebes. The enmity between the cities was of long standing, and had been aggravated at the time of the Persian invasion when Thebes took the side of Xerxes. At the battle of Platæa the Theban contingent fought against the Athenian, and only retired because the rest of the Persian army was beaten. After the defeat of the Persians Thebes was severely dealt with, and removed from her position as head of the Bœotian League, whilst Platæa, a city of Bœotia friendly to Athens, was declared free. All this had intensified ill feeling, nor did it help matters that Thebes was governed by an oligarchy and Athens by a republic. The sympathies of Sparta lay with oligarchies, and as she hated Athens in any case there was between her and Bœotia some ground for friendship. Accordingly when war arose between Bœotia and Phocis, Sparta sent an army to help the Bœotians so that the Phocians who were allies with the Athenians were easily crushed. In going northward the Spartan army had crossed the Gulf of Corinth, but they returned by land, thus coming perilously near Attica. As they marched southward, a rumour arose that an attack on Athens was contemplated, and that there was a conspiracy between the oligarchical party in the city, and the Spartans; whereupon the Athenians, greatly alarmed, and believing that war with Sparta was in any case only a question of time, determined to intercept them in Megara.

In the battle of Tanagra which followed, the Athenians 457.
were beaten, owing to the desertion of a body of Thessalian cavalry, but so stoutly was the battle contested that the Spartans were glad to proceed homeward, not daring to follow up their victory.

Next spring the Athenians had their revenge. Quite 456.
early in the year, before the usual time for campaigning, and before any help could come from Peloponnesus, they invaded Bœotia, and overran the country. There was a party favourable to Athens in most of the cities, and the Athenians

succeeded in gaining possession of every city, even Thebes itself, overthrowing the oligarchies and establishing republics everywhere.

These changes of government pleased the commons, and from this time forth there were two parties in every Bœotian city; the people, looking to Athens for protection, and the aristocrats, favouring oligarchy and inclining towards Sparta.

Shortly afterwards a truce for five years was arranged between Sparta, Athens, and their respective allies.

451. Athens had now reached her zenith. The establishment of republics in the cities of Bœotia had given her practical control of that state; Megara was under her protection; Argos was her ally. The names of 249 cities appeared on the list of the confederacy, of whom 246 compounded, paying tribute, whilst Samos, Lesbos and Chios preserved a certain amount of independence by retaining their own fleets. The maritime supremacy of Athens was unchallenged; Persia showed no sign, and Athenian suzerainty was acknowledged by nearly every island in the Ægean, and seaport in Western Asia. Thanks to Pericles, moreover, Athens itself was now the most beautiful city in the world, and a rendezvous for the cultivated of every land.

Sparta on the other hand had made no progress. Despising education and hating industry the Spartans held to their old ways, and spent their lives in athletics and soldiering. Had they done this from high motives it might have been well; but they did it, not to protect their country, but in order that they might lord it over their subjects, living in idleness whilst these toiled like slaves for their support. Thus blinded by ignorance and self-seeking, the Spartans were incapable of appreciating the truer greatness of Athens, and only plotted to cast her down from her excellency.

When the Athenian army, marching to fight the battle of Tanagra, crossed the frontier, it was met by Cimon, then under sentence of ostracism, who pleaded for permission to fight in its ranks; and when this was refused he entreated his friends to

do their best in the battle, and thus clear their party of the suspicion of treason which had fallen upon it. They fought nobly, many falling in the front rank, and though the Athenians lost the battle, Cimon's conduct gave so much satisfaction that his sentence was revoked.

Mention has been made of the fact that Athens, in the hope of injuring Persia, had sent an expedition to Egypt to help Inarus and Amyrtæus, princes who were holding out against Artaxerxes in the marshes of the Delta. The fleet sailed up the Nile as far as Memphis, and was for a time successful ; but Artaxerxes, alarmed at the presence of Athenians in Egypt made such exertions that they were annihilated.

This disaster made the Athenians eager to be revenged upon the Persians, and Cimon persuaded them to let him have 200 ships and a roving commission. With these he attacked 449.
Cyprus, which still belonged to Persia, and gained two brilliant victories, but in the very hour of triumph he was smitten by sickness and died, upon which the expedition returned to Athens.

After Cimon's death the Athenians determined to let Persia 445.
alone, and Callias was sent to Susa to negotiate a peace. No definite treaty was entered into between the powers, but an understanding was arrived at, by which they undertook to live and let live—Athens to refrain from attacking Persian territory ; Persia to leave the Asiatic Greeks unmolested.

Just before these events serious trouble had arisen in 447.
Bœotia, where the Athenians had established the republics. The exiled nobles watched for an opportunity, and when an insurrection broke out in Northern Bœotia against the republican party, they hurried back to help. The Athenians underestimated the strength of the enemy, and sent only 1,000 hoplites to quell the insurrection, a force which was easily defeated and captured. In order to recover these prisoners, the Athenians had to promise not to interfere again in Bœotian affairs, so that the republics were everywhere overthrown, and oligarchies re-established. Thus by bad management the

Athenians lost control in Bœotia, and therewith control over Phocis and Locris the adjacent provinces.

446. Next year saw a continuance of trouble. First Eubœa revolted, and Pericles himself led an army against the island. No sooner had he reached it than he was apprised of the revolt of the Megarians. Megara had appealed to Athens to be permitted to make alliance with her, and Athens had agreed, had saved her from Corinth, and generously put her city into a condition of defence; and now, at this crisis, the Megarians perfidiously turned upon their benefactor.

This miserable declension was the more serious as it left the way to Athens open to Sparta, and as soon as the five years' truce came to an end Sparta declared war and invaded Attica.

The position of Athens was one of extreme peril, as the Spartans were in overwhelming numbers, but when their army had got as far as Eleusis it halted; and, after a few days, turned and went home. Undoubtedly Pericles had bribed the generals heavily to bring this about, and on their return they were prosecuted and banished. Life in Sparta was not, however, very joyous at the best of times, and it may be that Spartan generals regarded exile with complacency when it was accompanied with the means of living in luxury. At any rate, the Spartan kings and generals were notoriously open to bribery, and on this occasion the sum paid must have been substantial.

Being relieved from this great danger Pericles was able to pay undivided attention to Eubœa, and after a brilliant campaign he succeeded in subduing the entire island. This was all he dared attempt, for none knew better than he in how perilous a position Athens stood.

445. Next year a thirty years' peace was negotiated with Sparta, by the terms of which Athens gave up all claim to supremacy on land for the sake of preserving her maritime empire.

It was in this year also, and just after peace had been

arranged with Sparta, that the understanding was arrived at with Persia to which reference has been made, so that Athens had now rest from her enemies round about. True, the peace with Sparta did not last thirty years, but only fourteen; nevertheless, whilst it lasted, it was of great value to Athens.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY OF PERICLES.

445. At this time Pericles was all powerful in Athens. Not that he was in any sense a despot, but he so surpassed the rest in ability, popularity and knowledge of affairs, that no one could hope to oppose successfully anything on which he set his mind. Thucydides, who led the opposition, was a man of much less capacity, and his following was not large enough to permit of his seriously thwarting Pericles in his plans. It would have been better for Athens had the opposition been stronger, for in spite of the ability and single-mindedness of Pericles there was much about his policy to which serious exception must be taken.

The opposition of Thucydides was largely directed against the misspending of the money furnished by the allies. The Delian league embraced 249 cities, and supplied Athens with a tribute of 600 talents, in return for which she had now little to do but keep the sea free from pirates, a service easily performed by a fleet of sixty vessels. So excessive indeed was the tribute, that after paying for the fleet, and the lavish decoration of the city, nearly 10,000 talents remained, accumulated in the Acropolis. The tribute was revised every four years and divided fairly enough amongst the tributaries, who were so numerous that it may not have borne very heavily upon any, nevertheless it was paid most unwillingly by all.

The payment of tribute however, did not constitute the only grievance the allies had against Athens. The Athenians were now widely scattered over the cities of the confederation,

and acted as a dominant race. The local courts of the allies were largely superseded in favour of a concentration of jurisdiction at Athens. All public suits, all cases involving capital punishment, and law suits where an Athenian was either plaintiff or defendant were brought to Athens for trial, and the court at Athens was a court of final appeal in matters of importance, whether Athenian interests were involved or not. Nothing need be said by way of disparaging the Athenian tribunal. It was quite capable and fair, but reference to it delayed justice, increased expense, and was considered a badge of subjection. We may go farther, and acknowledge that in all probability the allies of Athens had less justice and more oppression under their old oligarchies than under Athenian jurisdiction. Nevertheless, experience shows that, in the main, a state would rather be misgoverned by a man of its own breeding than well governed by a stranger. Athens had no sentiment to appeal to in her subject allies; and now that the fear of Persia had passed away, and there was no all-pervading interest to keep them loyal, it behoved her to walk warily, remembering that she had enemies in every city magnifying her faults, belittling her services, and ceasing not to declare to the people how much happier they would be were she dethroned.

Moreover, if serious exception could be taken to Pericles' foreign policy, his home policy was scarcely less open to criticism.

In considering Greek history, it is necessary to remember that we are only dealing with a section of the population. From Homeric times there had been slaves in Greece, and though these were at first not numerous, as wealth increased slavery began to abound. Slaves were used in agriculture, trading, handicrafts and domestic work. There were public slaves and private slaves, and much of the labour in Athens was slave labour. The wealth which flowed in upon the Athenians from the tribute had therefore a double effect: firstly it led to increase of slave labour, which in

itself is a curse to any country; and secondly, it enabled the Athenian citizens to leave manual labour to those whom they counted their inferiors, and to spend their own lives in the courts and political assemblies.

The Athenian legal methods encouraged the attendance of large numbers of the citizens in the courts. The assembly of the people was also the supreme court for the Athenian state, and had not only to deal with the ordinary legal business of Attica, but with much business sent up from the towns of the confederacy. Six thousand citizens were chosen annually for the judicial work, divided into ten panels or dicasteries of 500 each, the remainder forming a reserve from which vacancies were filled. The enormous size of the panels necessitated the attendance of great numbers of the citizens at the courts, indeed the 6,000 chosen men had to be always within reach lest they might be summoned to serve. Men could not render this prolonged service without payment, and first an obol and afterwards three oboli a day were paid to the jurymen, many of whom practically spent their lives in the law courts and assemblies.

There was no harm in paying jurymen for their services; the mischief lay in the vast number of citizens called upon to serve, forty times as many as there was any real need for. This led the Athenians into lazy habits, and made them fancy that the chief duty of a citizen was to be a politician and amateur judge, whereas it behoved them first to be diligent in business, and thus add to the wealth and happiness of the community.

Having once begun the system of subsidising the citizens in masses it was not easy to draw the line. Money was flowing in, and if it might be used in paying jurymen and adorning the city, why not in providing pageants, and plays, and refreshments on days of public rejoicing? Not that these things were altogether evil in their effect. It must be remembered that books were beyond the reach of the people in those times, and that they could not be educated in schools and colleges as

they are now. Pericles, therefore, believing that the greatness of Athens would largely depend upon the intellectual development of her citizens, tried to awaken their faculties by such means as lay within his power, and doubtless thought that when a man sat on a jury considering questions of law, or in the assembly discussing politics, or in the theatre witnessing a play written by one of their great poets, he was being educated in the best way. This was true, but true only to a certain extent. Had the Athenians paid for their political, legal and dramatic training out of their own pockets, it would probably have been kept within reasonable limits, but the money for these things came from their allies, and came so easily, that whilst some may have been benefited by the method of expenditure, most were demoralised.

Whilst, therefore, we must fully recognise the high qualities and noble aims of Pericles, we must allow that his methods were not always sound, and that he would have been greatly the better for a vigorous opposition. Unfortunately the opposition led by Thucydides, whilst correct in some of its views, was too philo-Spartan to be popular, and Thucydides was ostracised. This was to be regretted as there was no one to fill his place. Pericles had now a free hand and lacked that healthy criticism upon his actions without which even the best governments go astray.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATHENS AND HER ENEMIES.

We have already had occasion to notice the secession of Naxos and Thasos from the confederacy of Delos and the severity which was used to bring them back. The next to revolt was
440. Samos, and when the Athenians attacked the Samians in force they appealed to Sparta for help. The Peloponnesian states met to consider the question, and Corinth, being herself in trouble with rebellious dependencies, argued that Athens should not be interfered with, and the Samians were left to fight their own battle. Accordingly they were soon subjugated, their fortifications destroyed, their war-ships seized and a fine of 1,000 talents inflicted upon them.

Though Corinth was generally unfriendly towards Athens, her action in this particular instance had been creditable, and Athens should have remembered this in subsequent events. Corinth, a great coloniser, had founded a colony in the island of Corcyra, but quarrels arose and the Corcyraeans refused to acknowledge allegiance to the mother country. Some of the inhabitants of Corcyra settled on the mainland, founding the city of Epidamnus, in which the usual quarrel between oli-
435. garchy and democracy arose. The democrats appealed to Corcyra for help, but she refused to interfere, upon which they applied to Corinth. The Corinthians, glad of a chance to insult Corcyra, willingly sent help to Epidamnus and made alliance; and the islanders were so exasperated at their interference that they blockaded Epidamnus and captured it. The Corinthians could not brook this defiance and made war on their colonists, who thereupon sent envoys

to Athens, and asked to be taken under her protection and 433.
included in the confederacy.

Had this request come at an ordinary time it might have been worth considering, but coming when it did Athens should have refused to meddle. It was a dangerous thing to interfere between Corinth and her colony in any case, and it was specially impolitic after the action of Corinth with regard to Samos.

Corcyra had no claim whatever upon Athens, nor had her conduct been so estimable in the present instance as to make it desirable that the city should run risks for her sake. Her appeal was made, as the appeal from Megara had been made, in order to tide over the difficulties of the moment, and when the danger was past she was likely to prove as faithless an ally as Megara had been.

Pericles, however, having made up his mind that war 432.
between Athens and Peloponnesus must come sooner or later, thought that Corcyra might prove a valuable ally and sent a fleet in her defence. The result was that the Corinthians had to withdraw from their expedition against the island, and that the Athenians made of Corinth an irreconcilable enemy who waited eagerly for her revenge.

The opportunity soon came. That very year Potidæa, originally a Corinthian colony, but now a member of the Delian confederacy, revolted against Athens, and Corinth sent an expedition to her help. Not only so, but the Corinthians persuaded Sparta to call a congress of states to consider the high-handed action of Athens, and to determine whether there should not be a combined war against her. In this congress Athens had many enemies and few friends. Corinth had Corcyra vividly in mind, and was bent on war. Megara, whom Athens had shut out of the ports of the confederation as a punishment for her rebellion, was equally warlike; whilst Thebes, who hated Athens with an undying hatred, was of the same mind. These were special and particular enemies, but amongst the remaining states there

were few who had not some sort of grievance against the city whose prosperity they envied.

Athens was not invited to the congress, but some Athenians, who were in Sparta at the time, were allowed to speak on behalf of their city. They put the case well, reminding the delegates what Athens had done for Greece, in saving the country from Persia. They explained how the states themselves had formed the league and appointed her president, and how all things had been done by her in that capacity. They said Athens was hated because she was the ruling state, and that if Sparta were ruling they would hate her still more. The arguments were sound, but they made no difference to the decision of the congress, for the warlike spirit was abroad.

For form's sake an embassy was sent to Athens demanding the banishment of Pericles, the withdrawal of the Athenians from Potidæa, the restoration of autonomy to Ægina, and the repeal of the decree which prevented Megara from trading with the ports of the confederacy. When Athens refused to consent to these, they made one demand, that she should restore autonomy to the Greek cities in her confederation.

It happened that at this time Pericles was unpopular in Athens, where his enemies, not daring to attack him openly, were prosecuting his friends. But the demand that he should be expelled from Athens had the usual effect of foreign interference, for it reinstated him in favour at home.

There was a strong peace party in Athens, and had the Peloponnesians been sincere in their demands, the Athenians would have met them in a spirit of conciliation. But Pericles pointed out that their enemies had determined upon war, that they hated Athens because she was prosperous, that nothing short of her destruction would satisfy them, and that concessions would be made in vain.

Undoubtedly Pericles was right. The demand for the restoration of autonomy to the cities was merely a pretext; for when, years later, Sparta became supreme, she proved a greater tyrant than Athens, and did not make the slightest

effort to grant the autonomy for which she now clamoured. The conduct of Athens towards her allies had not been wise, and she learned this to her cost when she found that the confederacy was held together by a rope of sand. Yet the war was not originated by members of the confederacy, but by outside states who could have had no grievance in connection with it. The war was brought about because Sparta and her allies hated Athens and thirsted for her blood, but it was precipitated by the action of Pericles with regard to Corcyra; and it was made much harder for Athens because she had worked the confederacy on lines which gave dissatisfaction to the other members, and had thus deprived herself of that cordial help in the hour of trial which she might well have received under more favourable conditions.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

431. THE die was cast, and an internecine conflict begun, destined to rage until Athens was crushed and Greece had so exhausted her resources that she fell an easy prey to the Macedonian invader.

On one side stood Sparta, with the whole of the Peloponnesian states except Argos and Achaia; on the other, Athens practically alone. It is true that the cities of the confederacy were nominally on her side, as were also Messenia, Acarnania, Thessaly and Corcyra, but during the war she got little help from any one. She had, however, a substantial advantage over her enemies so long as her allies did not suspend payment of the tribute. The Athenian revenue, tribute and taxation together, amounted to 1,000 talents, and 6,000 talents lay in the Acropolis ready for immediate use. Sparta, on the other hand, was extremely poor, and from mere lack of the sinews of war was unable to keep an army in the field for more than a month or two at a time. So long, therefore, as the tribute was paid, Athens had a chance, but as the Peloponnesian states declared, however untruly, that they were fighting for autonomy, there was great danger lest the cities of the confederacy should cease to pay tribute, even if they did not become active enemies.

As the Peloponnesians could put an overwhelming army in the field, Pericles determined not to meet them by land. The area embraced within the long walls between Athens and Piræus was capable of sheltering the inhabitants of Attica, and it was agreed that on the approach of the enemy these

should hasten to the capital with their valuables. So long as Athens kept control of the sea the people could not be starved, and the destruction of their crops might be avenged by a descent upon Peloponnesus. Athens, Pericles thought, could hurt Peloponnesus in this way at least as much as Peloponnesus could hurt Athens.

The war began with an attack made by the Thebans on 431.
Platæa—the little city which had served Athens so well in the past. Platæa had obtained autonomy in return for services during the Persian invasion, and the states had sworn to respect its territory, but this counted for nothing now. The Thebans hated Platæa as much as they hated Athens; and when they were invited by the oligarchical party in the city, a detachment of them made a night attack and got inside the gates. They were few, however, and reinforcements not arriving quickly enough, they were captured. As soon as Athens heard of the capture she sent to entreat the Platæans not to harm the prisoners, as they would be invaluable hostages, but before the messenger arrived they had been executed. It was a barbarous and impolitic act, but it could not be undone and so all non-combatants were removed from Platæa to Athens and the city garrisoned.

The Peloponnesian army now invaded Attica, and as the inhabitants had sheltered in Athens, they revenged themselves as best they could, burning down the farmsteads and destroying the crops. When they saw their homes on fire the country people eagerly clamoured for a sortie, but Pericles restrained them. He sent instead a naval expedition against Peloponnesus, which did great damage to the coast ports; and when the army retired, after ravaging Attica for a month, Pericles sallied forth and treated Megara in the same way. Towards Ægina he acted in very high-handed fashion. The Æginetans were members of the confederacy but far from cordial; and Pericles, afraid of a revolt which might establish an enemy at the very door of Athens, sent an expedition, deported the inhabitants, landed them in

Peloponnesus and placed Athenians in Ægina in their stead.

Obsequies were held for those who had fallen for Athens during that year, and Pericles made an oration in honour of the dead. In this speech, which has been preserved to us by Thucydides, he reviewed the question from the beginning, justified what Athens had done, and showed how well fitted she was to be the leader of Greece.

430. In the first year of the war the Peloponnesians had done Athens little harm, and the same might have been said of the second but for the breaking out of a terrible plague in the crowded city. This plague, which was of the nature of malignant typhus, and did not originate in Athens, but came like so many other plagues from the East, had been hovering about for some years, and had visited Egypt and Rome. The crowded condition of Athens, the insufficient and polluted water supply, and the want of proper sanitation gave the disease every chance, and it spread like wildfire. A fourth part of the population died—the suffering, misery and demoralisation of the people were indescribable; and when, to relieve the congestion, expeditions were fitted out for foreign service, they carried the infection with them.

In their despair the Athenians turned upon Pericles whom they considered mainly responsible for the war, and deposed and fined him, but when they recalled his services to Athens there was a reaction in his favour, and he was re-elected. His renewed tenure of office was destined to be brief. Like the rest he had been hard hit by the plague. He had lost his sister and two sons, and at last he was smitten by it him-

429. self. He recovered from the actual disease, but had not strength to rally, and died in a few weeks.

Pericles was a truly great man, and though he made mistakes they were errors of judgment, not of heart. An aristocrat by birth and a democrat by conviction, he never pandered to the people, nor sought power from any other motive than a desire to benefit them. He tried to keep the

Athenians from rash enterprises, and though we may think that he acted unwisely with regard to Corcyra, we must not lay all the sad consequences of the Peloponnesian war at his door. We must remember that he died soon after it began, and that the Athenians might on various occasions have made an honourable peace had they been so disposed. Had Pericles lived, judging from his character, we have a right to believe that he would have induced them to accept peace when it was offered, and thus saved them from their worst misfortunes.

The death of Pericles was a heavy blow to Athens. His political life had extended over forty years, during most of which he had been the first man in the state. Thus, whilst Athens had the forms and advantages of popular government, she also profited by the unity of purpose which can be best supplied at critical times by one master mind, for whatever Pericles advised the people willed. When he died there was no one fitted to fill so great a place, and the leadership of the people fell into the hands of men of popular gifts but inferior ability. As a result the Athenians lost that unity which had been such a blessing to the state; the old divisions between aristocracy and democracy again cropped up and clubs were started by means of which the various parties tried to keep power in their own hands. Thus there was divided counsel, and consequent weakness in affairs of state.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DEFENSIVE POLICY ABANDONED.

430. THE year before the death of Pericles had seen the fall of Potidæa, the siege of which had helped so greatly to precipitate the Peloponnesian war. The generals who had charge of the operations, anxious to shorten the siege for the sake of their men, gave the Potidæans good terms, and were censured by the Athenians for their lenity. Amongst these generals was Xenophon, afterwards to become so famous in connection with the retreat of the 10,000.

429. The year that Pericles died, Archidamus, the Spartan king, laid siege to Platæa, which had been deserted by most of its inhabitants but was garrisoned by 500 men. Whatever excuse there may have been for Thebes when it attacked Platæa, there was none for Sparta, the siege being a direct violation of the oath taken by Pausanias. Finding it impossible to capture the town by assault, Archidamus invested it, but the garrison held out for two years, at the end of which time, as provisions were failing, half escaped by night. The
427. remaining handful prolonged the siege for six months, and then surrendered. They were carried to Sparta, and, after a mock trial, executed, and Platæa was levelled with the ground.

429. Meanwhile there had been fighting in the west of Greece. The inhabitants of Acarnania and Naupactus, a state and city north of the Corinthian Gulf, the only allies Athens had in that neighbourhood, were attacked by the Peloponnesians. Phormio, the Athenian admiral there, had but twenty vessels under his command, whilst the Peloponnesians had forty-seven,

nevertheless he defeated them. The Peloponnesians sent reinforcements so that Phormio had now seventy-seven vessels to contend against. To understand what followed it is necessary to remember that the Athenians had improved upon early naval tactics. Formerly the plan was to get alongside of the enemy, fasten the grappling irons and hammer away, and to this plan the Peloponnesians adhered. The Athenians, on the other hand, trusted to manœuvring, rowing swiftly, turning quickly, ramming, and either sinking or disabling the enemy without coming to close quarters. Accordingly when Phormio was attacked by seventy-seven ships he fled. Nine of his ships were driven aground—the rest were chased. The Spartan admiral, Timocrates, was leading the pursuit, and rapidly overhauling a trireme of the enemy. It happened that a merchantman was lying at anchor, and the Athenian captain, seeing his chance, circled round it at full speed, dashed into the flagship and disabled it. Timocrates, mad with rage, slew himself; and the other Athenians, encouraged by what had happened, turned upon their pursuers, captured several vessels and drove the rest before them in flight. It was a daring and successful naval feat, but it had no important effect on the war.

Next year a heavy blow fell upon Athens through the 428.
revolt of the island of Lesbos on which stood the important city of Mytilene. Lesbos was the largest of the islands in the Ægean; and, since the revolt of Samos and the confiscation of her ships, was one of the two islands still retaining an independent fleet. The revolt of this important island, and the dread lest its example should be followed by other members of the confederacy, greatly distressed the Athenians, whose resources had been tried to the utmost by two years of plague; nevertheless they strained every nerve, and sent a powerful fleet to subjugate the rebels. Another squadron, numbering 100 vessels, was sent to ravage the Peloponnesian coast towns, and thus prevent the Spartans from succouring the revolted island.

427. The Lesbians appealed to Sparta, and had it been possible to send them help by land it would have been sent gladly, but Phormio's victories and the presence of the Athenian squadron on their own shores made the Spartans hesitate. When at length a fleet was sent, the admiral took so circuitous a route in order to avoid the Athenians, that Mytilene had capitulated a week before he arrived, and 1,000 prisoners had been sent to Athens to stand their trial. There was a warm debate in the Ecclesia as to the fate of the remaining islanders, and on the proposition of Cleon, a man who had been forcing himself into prominence, it was decided that the men should be put to death and the rest sold as slaves. A trireme was despatched to Lesbos with this cruel sentence, but next day better counsels prevailed, and the sentence was revoked. A second trireme was now sent, and spurred on by the promise of great rewards, the oarsmen put forth their utmost effort and arrived in time to save the people. The prisoners in Athens were, however, executed, the fortifications of Mytilene destroyed, the fleet confiscated, and much of the land of the island divided amongst Athenian colonists.

Thus far the Athenians had held faithfully to the policy of Pericles, and confined their warlike operations to the safe lines which he had marked out for them, but now that his restraining influence was no longer felt they began to change their policy, and to engage in desultory expeditions in which they frittered away their strength. One of these expeditions was to Sicily where a war was raging between the Greek cities. Actuated apparently by a desire to injure the corn trade of Corinth, the Athenians sent twenty ships to the island, but they achieved nothing. The precedent was unfortunate, for it was followed later upon a scale and with a result which went far to ruin Athens.

In the sixth year after the beginning of the war there
426. were earthquakes in Peloponnesus, and the Spartans, being very superstitious, refrained from invading Attica that year; but unhappily there was a return of the plague, and

although it was milder than on the former occasion, yet it caused much misery. The same year Demosthenes, a general, not the orator of later date, was sent with an armament to Acarnania for the purpose of besieging the city of Leucas. Instead of carrying out orders, he invaded Ætolia and was severely defeated. Afraid to return to Athens he tried to retrieve his reputation by some daring deed, and when the Spartans and Ambraciots attacked Acarnania soon after, he defeated them, slaying two Spartan generals. He sent word to the Spartans who were left that if they liked to depart he would not prevent them, and they fled, faithlessly leaving their Ambraciot allies, who, thus deserted, were again defeated with great slaughter. Worse still, a reinforcement which came up, not aware of what had happened, was likewise cut to pieces. It is pathetically related that the herald from the first body came to make the usual request of the vanquished for leave to bury their dead, and was asked how many dead he thought he would have to bury. Unaware of the fate of the others he said, "About two hundred," whereupon he was led to the second battlefield and saw the dead in heaps, when with a lamentable cry he turned and went away. In a day or two 6,000 Ambraciots had been slain and the city was left defenceless. This expedition had therefore ended successfully for the Athenians, but it had no direct bearing upon the issue of the war and it would have been better for them had they never undertaken it.

Next year Demosthenes distinguished himself in a way 425.
which might have been of the greatest advantage to Athens, had wise counsels prevailed amongst her statesmen.

An expedition proceeding towards Sicily lay windbound at Pylos in Messenia, now better known as Navarino. Demosthenes was with the expedition, and perceiving that Pylos was an almost impregnable position, he conceived the idea of making it a base of operations against Sparta, and remained there with a few vessels and a detachment after the rest of the fleet had gone. The Spartans, hearing exaggerated

rumours concerning the number of Athenians who had landed, hastily recalled their army from Attica and sent a force both naval and military to dislodge Demosthenes. His force had been supplemented by Messenian volunteers so that he had about 1,000 men and was well fortified; and when the Spartans came up he sent two swift triremes after the fleet to tell the admiral what was happening and beg him to return.

The Spartans got there first and began the attack. The bay of Pylos has a promontory at either end, and Demosthenes had turned the most northern of these into a formidable stronghold. Fronting the bay and stretching nearly the whole way across with only narrow entrances between it and the promontories, lies the island of Sphacteria, little more than a long bare rock. When the Spartans arrived they encamped on the mainland, took possession of Sphacteria with 400 soldiers and anchored their ships in the bay. They then attacked Demosthenes with vigour, but he held his own until the Athenian fleet returned, sailed into the basin and defeated the Spartan fleet. The troops on Sphacteria were thus caught in a trap, and it happened that amongst them were many members of the Spartan aristocracy. News having been sent to Sparta of the dangerous position in which the men were placed, the Ephors came and, seeing no way out of the difficulty, begged for peace. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to Athens, and an offer made to return to the *status quo ante bellum*. Had Pericles been at the head of affairs in Athens this proposal would assuredly have been accepted. By such a peace Athens would have been left in a proud position, seeing that she had proved her ability to withstand for six years the united forces of her enemies, and had emerged from the contest as strong as ever. Unfortunately Pericles had passed away, and Cleon, who led the ultra-patriotic party, urged that advantage should be taken of the opportunity to press harder terms upon Sparta. The peace negotiations were, therefore, broken off, and at last, though not without much trouble, the soldiers on Sphacteria were

captured and carried to Athens. There the Spartans renewed negotiations, but Cleon and his friends were more exacting than ever, and peace was again refused. This was a fatal mistake, for 425.
the circumstances were the most favourable that had occurred to Athens during the war. Never again had she such a chance of an honourable and lasting peace.

CHAPTER XXII.

NICIAS, CLEON, ALCIBIADES.

Nicias and Cleon were now the leading politicians in Athens. Nicias was rich, and had a character for prudence which won him respect, and during the early part of his career, when he was opposing Cleon and Alcibiades in the interests of peace, he seemed the good genius of his country. But he proved to be, after all, a man of very moderate ability, and did the city a terrible injury in the end.

Cleon came from the middle class, and being a ready speaker, gained much influence—especially after the death of Pericles. His character has been derided by Aristophanes and Thucydides, but as they were swayed by personal animosity their estimates cannot be accepted, especially when we remember that Aristophanes derided Socrates in much the same way. There is, however, enough independent evidence to make it clear that Cleon, on several occasions, led the Athenians far astray. He proposed the massacre of the inhabitants of Mytilene; persuaded the Athenians to refuse peace when Demosthenes had a temporary success at Pylos; and afterwards, when the Spartan soldiers had been brought as prisoners from the island, he again refused peace. It is to be remembered, of course, that the Athenians were elated by their victory, and could not foresee the disasters which followed, yet their leaders should have been more wise and have erred on the side of safety.

424. So pleased were the Athenians with the success of the Sphacterian venture, that in the eighth year of the war they planned a yet more pronounced departure from the conser-

vative policy recommended by Pericles. Early in the year Nicias captured the island of Cythera which lay directly opposite the gulf of Laconia, from which as a base they could ravage the Peloponnesian coast at will, and were almost within striking distance of Sparta itself. So alarmed were the Spartans with this new venture, and so fearful lest it should lead to a rising of the Helots, that they took the cruel precaution of assassinating the most prominent of these to the number of about two thousand.

Having been successful against Sphacteria and Cythera, the Athenians next undertook an expedition against Megara. Acting in conjunction with partisans in the city, they got within the long walls which connected it with Nisæa, its seaport, and gained possession of Nisæa itself, but could not capture Megara.

After this exploit they arranged a scheme by which Bœotia 424.
was to be overrun by two armies, Demosthenes marching from the west, Hippocrates from the east, whilst insurrections were to be fomented in various cities at the same time. But the scheme failed. Demosthenes, on landing in the Corinthian Gulf, found that their plans had been betrayed, and had to re-embark. The Bœotian army waited until he departed, and then marching eastward completely routed Hippocrates at Delium—1,000 Athenians being slain, amongst whom was Hippocrates himself. Both Socrates and Alcibiades took part in this battle.

Serious though the disaster at Delium was, worse happened in the north. With the view of stirring up a revolt in the Delian confederacy, the Spartans had sent Brasidas, their smartest general, to the Chalcidian peninsula, where Athens had many enemies. He was at once successful, capturing Amphipolis, owing, the Athenians believed, to the supine- 423.
ness of Thucydides, their commander there, who arrived with his forces a few hours too late. For this Thucydides was prosecuted at Athens and banished. He spent the next twenty years of his life in exile, and it was during this period that he wrote his famous history.

The loss of Amphipolis was only the beginning of evils, for Brasidas marched through the peninsula, and induced many other cities to break off from the confederacy. The disasters in Bœotia and in the Chalcidian peninsula brought the Athenians to their senses, and they regretted that they had not made peace whilst there was opportunity. Accordingly when Sparta once more approached them they agreed upon a year's truce in order that time might be given for the settlement of a permanent peace.

Unfortunately, before knowledge of the armistice had reached the Chalcidian peninsula two other cities, Scione and Mende, revolted. The Athenians determined to reconquer these, and an expedition was sent under Nicias which re-
422. covered Mende. When the year's truce expired, the peace with Sparta had not been arranged, and Cleon took command in Chalcidice. He was successful for a time, recovering Torone and Galepsus, but when attacking Amphipolis he was caught in a sortie and slain. In the same battle fell Brasidas, and the fall of these men made it easier to negotiate. Accordingly Nicias for Athens and Pleistoanax for Sparta arranged
421. a peace nominally for fifty years, on the basis of a mutual restoration of prisoners and places captured during the war. The terms of the treaty would have been satisfactory if they could have been carried out, but this proved to be impossible. Sparta could not restore the allegiance of the revolted Chalcidian towns, the most she could do was to leave Athens free to recapture them; and Athens, counting this an infraction of the treaty, refused to surrender Cythera and Pylos. Athens also retained Nisæa which was Megarian, and Anactorium and Sollium which had belonged to Corinth. There was, therefore, no finality about the agreement. The allies of Sparta were profoundly discontented, believing that she had betrayed their interests, and four states—Bœotia, Corinth, Megara and Elis—refused to be bound by it.

It would have been far better for Athens had she satisfied these states by returning to them the cities which she retained,

for they were of small benefit and were sure to be a source of constant strife. She had everything to gain by peace. As a great trading centre, a few quiet years would have enabled her to distance every rival, and the cities now so rebellious would have found it to their interest to be on good terms with her, even if they did not rejoin the confederacy. Unfortunately for Athens the war party was again in the ascendant, this time led by Alcibiades, an unscrupulous man, whose evil influence did not cease to operate until the city was ruined.

Sparta had been more inclined towards peace because a thirty years' truce entered into between herself and Argos was drawing to an end, and she feared lest Argos might attack her, in which case her usual allies, being at present on unfriendly terms, were not unlikely to help Argos. Matters turned out just as Sparta had feared, for the Argives at once took advantage of the ending of the peace and entered into alliance with Mantinea, Elis and Chalcis, so that conflict with Sparta became imminent. Ambassadors were sent to Athens from the allies asking her to join them, and others 420.
from Sparta to plead against such a course. Nicias was for peace, but Alcibiades, an inveterate firebrand, intrigued against the Spartan ambassadors so successfully that the assembly dismissed them, and made alliance with Argos. It was indeed all that Nicias could do to prevent declaration of war against Sparta, but a treaty with Argos at that juncture amounted to much the same thing. By this action Alcibiades did Athens a lasting injury. The defensive policy mapped out by Pericles had been, on the whole, sound, and though Athens had sometimes suffered whilst adhering to his advice, she had suffered still more when she departed from it. Under the malign influence of Alcibiades she abandoned it wholly, and the result was ruin. Far better for her had she kept out of Peloponnesian quarrels, and set herself resolutely to the consolidation of her own proper empire.

The Athenians did not formally declare war against Sparta, 418.

but they sent a contingent to the assistance of the allies, so that 1,300 Athenians fought in the decisive battle of Mantinea. The allies were divided in counsel and were severely beaten, many Athenians being amongst the slain.

The effect of the battle of Mantinea was wide spread. It restored Spartan prestige, and was followed by a revolution at Argos in favour of Sparta, and though this did not succeed, the Argives had received a lesson which made them less inclined to war with Sparta than before. Alcibiades had, therefore, dragged Athens into an alliance, the only fruit of which was the breaking out again of bitter ill-will between herself and Sparta with whom she was nominally at peace.

416. Next year the Athenians attacked Melos, an island which had lapsed from the confederacy and was endeavouring to maintain autonomy. The islanders refusing to submit were defeated, and treated with great barbarity—the men being killed, the women and children sold into slavery. This was an atrocious crime, and shows how greatly the Athenian character had degenerated under the influence of constant war.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SICILIAN MADNESS.

We come now to the crowning act of Athenian folly. The island of Sicily, or Trinacria as it was called from its triangular shape, had been colonised by Greeks at an early period, and had many important cities, of which Syracuse was chief.

These Sicilian colonists were mostly of Peloponnesian origin, and Sparta had even asked them for help against Athens during the war, but without result. A few of the cities, however, were of Athenian origin, and as time went on a feeling of partisanship was awakened, but the Athenian cities being in a minority had little power. The Athenians had interfered in the affairs of the cities, and had even sent 427.
an expedition to the help of their sympathisers, but it did no good to Athenian influence, for the Sicilians came to the conclusion that they had more to fear from Athens than from one another, and having made peace amongst themselves, they requested the Athenians to withdraw.

Some years later war broke out between Selinus and 417.
Segesta, cities in the west of Sicily, and when Selinus obtained help from Syracuse, Segesta sought it from Athens. Nicias and Alcibiades were now the leaders in Athens, and the latter warmly espoused the cause of the Segestans, whilst the former opposed it. As a matter of fact even the war party amongst the Athenians cared nothing for Segesta; they merely wanted a pretext for gaining entrance into Sicily and extending the empire. Accordingly commissioners were sent to make 416.
inquiry, and especially to discover whether the Segestans were rich enough to pay the expenses of the war, should the

Athenians undertake it on their behalf. The commissioners, deceived and probably bribed, brought back glowing accounts, and the Athenians went wild on the subject. Nicias opposed the war spirit in vain, the party led by Alcibiades carried the day, and the Athenians threw all their energies into the preparation of a huge expedition. Amidst the general blindness, some men had clearness of vision, amongst these being Socrates—now at the height of his fame.

Three generals were appointed to command the expedition, Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus. Nicias was honest but incapable. Lamachus had capacity, but being a poor man was easily overruled. Alcibiades was a scoundrel.

Just before the departure of the expedition an ugly incident happened. In the streets of Athens there were many pillar busts of Hermes, the special patron of the democracy, and one morning these were found to be disfigured and broken. The mutilation which was effected in one night must have been the work of several persons; and as much excitement was created as might be expected in a continental town if the numerous images of the Virgin were suddenly defaced. The authors of the outrage were not discovered, but Alcibiades was suspected though there was no apparent reason why he should
415. perpetrate such a deed. No formal accusation, however, was made, and the expedition sailed for the land of El Dorado. It went by way of Corcyra, and when it left that island mustered 134 battle ships and 500 transports, with many thousands of soldiers and sailors on board.

Touching first at the seaports in the south of Italy the fleet was coldly received, for the colonists knew that so great an expedition must contemplate wide conquest, and guessed that if Sicily were conquered, Magna Græcia would soon follow. Apart from this, they told the admirals that they had been utterly misled by the Segestans, and that these could not afford any substantial help, a fact which was soon verified by the scouts. Under these changed circumstances the fleet should have returned, and for this Nicias pleaded, but the

others, knowing that the succour of Segesta was but a pretext, and that the conquest of Sicily was the true object of the expedition, overruled him. Lamachus advised that Syracuse should be at once attacked, and this was certainly the wisest course if they were to remain. Had they attacked Syracuse at once it would probably have fallen, and as it was the key of the island the expedition would have been successful. But Alcibiades opposed this plan also, and advised that they should visit the Sicilian towns in turn, seeking allies. This policy of delay was adopted, and proved suicidal. The dread inspired by the expedition in Sicily passed away, the vessels deteriorated, the sailors, many of whom were slaves, deserted, and Syracuse had time to fortify. Whilst matters stood thus, Alcibiades was summoned home to stand his trial in connection with the mutilation of the Hermæ. He made a pretence of returning, but escaped to Italy, and from thence to Sparta; where, turning traitor, he directed all his energy towards ruining the city which had given him birth.

The autumn passed without any action of consequence, and during the winter the fleet lay comparatively idle. Meanwhile the Syracusans fortified their city and sent to Sparta for aid. Alcibiades, who was in Sparta when the embassy arrived, persuaded the Spartans to accede to their request and showed them how they could attack the Athenians to the greatest advantage. In accordance with his advice they sent 414.
Gylippus with a detachment and orders to land in the island, collect troops and relieve Syracuse. In the spring the Athenian army bestirred itself, and the siege of Syracuse was fairly begun, but Lamachus was slain in an early engagement, and the soldiers were left under the command of Nicias, a man who detested the expedition, and was both incompetent and in feeble health.

The Athenians proceeded to blockade Syracuse, but while one part of the city was still open, Gylippus arrived and entered with a considerable force. Inspired by his opportune arrival the Syracusans took the offensive, and Nicias became

besieged rather than besieger. He now recognised the hopelessness of his task, and had he been strong minded would have sailed home. As it was he only wrote lugubrious letters to Athens begging to be recalled. Instead of recalling him the Athenians, who of course could not realise the hopelessness of
413. the case, sent reinforcements under Demosthenes, now their most able general. Before he arrived there had been a naval battle; and the Athenian fleet, heavily beaten, was penned up on shore under the protection of the land army, but his arrival somewhat restored the balance of power and the whole force could have been easily withdrawn. Demosthenes determined to make one final effort, and to let its success or failure decide his future course. He made, therefore, a night attack upon Syracuse, and when the attack ended in disastrous failure, he resolved to return at once to Athens. But Nicias, formerly so anxious to return, now took a fit of obstinacy and wanted to remain. At last, however, he consented to depart, and the order to sail was given. Had the order been carried out, the Athenian armament, sorely needed now at home, would have been saved. But that night there was an eclipse of the moon, and Nicias, full of superstition, asked the astrologers their opinion, and was advised to postpone his departure for a month. By that time the Syracusans knew of the premeditated flight, and made the most determined efforts to annihilate their enemy. Accordingly the harbour was blockaded, and it became necessary to struggle in fierce battle for that which a month before was freely at their command. The battle was fought with desperation, but the Athenians could not manœuvre in the harbour in their wonted fashion, and were completely beaten. Demosthenes and Nicias pleaded for a renewal of the struggle in the morning, but the men refused to fight, and the desperate alternative of a retreat by land had to be faced. This gave Nicias one last chance to display his imbecility. Instead of retreating instantly and getting the start of the Syracusans, he spent two days in packing up, so that when the retreat began the passes were

occupied, and on every side enemies, both horse and foot, blocked the way. The awful misery of the retreat baffles description, but it did not last long, for in a day or two the wretches, reduced from 40,000 to a mere handful, surrendered. The survivors were treated with barbarity, and those who did not die under the treatment were sold as slaves. Demosthenes and Nicias were condemned to death; and when Gylippus, the Spartan general, found that he could not prevent the Syracusans from carrying the sentence into effect, he is said to have saved the Athenian leaders the indignity and torture of a public execution by sending them the means of putting an end to their lives by their own hands.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ATHENS IN DECLINE.

413. The news of the terrible catastrophe in Sicily did not reach Athens for some time. It reached Sparta and Corinth first, and was brought to Athens by a sailor who entered a barber's shop in Piræus and spoke about it as if it were common knowledge. At first it was not credited, but when the sad truth was realised, the affliction of the Athenians was indescribable. Had Sparta attacked Athens promptly, the city might have fallen an easy prey, but she delayed, and Athens had time to shake off her stupor and brace herself for further effort.

The condition of the city was indeed deplorable. Two-thirds of her fleet and the best part of her army had been destroyed, her treasury was drained, her enemies were sure to redouble their efforts. Those who had been neutral now turned against her, allies fell away, all believing her doom sealed, and that a few months would see the city captured.

Eubœa, Lesbos and Chios sent messengers to the Spartans asking for help to enable them to revolt, and Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus prepared to divide between them the cities of the Asiatic Greeks.

It added to the misery of the Athenians that Alcibiades had advised the Spartans to establish a fortress in Attica itself and to make it a centre for marauding expeditions. This they had done at Decelea and now Attica had no rest. No part of the country was safe, agricultural operations were wholly at a standstill, thousands of Athenian slaves escaped to the Spartan post, and the citizens had to mount guard

continually. From all sides the vultures gathered—waiting for the end.

There were in most Athenian dependencies two parties, the republican and the oligarchic, and the oligarchs now raised their heads in every city; while the republicans, depressed and alarmed, dared not resist. Island after island fell away—Chios, Miletus and Lesbos. Samos would have followed their example had not the republicans taken time by the forelock and risen first. Athens was thus able to use this important island as a military base, and in recognition of its faithfulness made it a free and equal ally.

Meanwhile the Spartans had made overtures to the Persians, 412.
and Tissaphernes, the satrap of the central portion of Asia Minor, promised to supply funds and ships wherewith to crush Athens on condition that Persia should have the cities of the Asiatic Greeks. But Athens did not succumb so easily as her enemies expected, illustrating the truth that a republic, often careless under prosperity, is seen at its best in the time of adversity. The year spent by her enemies preparing for her destruction gave her a breathing space. Her people, chastened by affliction, closed up their ranks, and aided by a reserve fund which Pericles had laid up and by dint of much self-denial, built a new fleet, small indeed but by no means contemptible. Unfortunately, the efforts of the oligarchic factions in the subject cities went on apace; many had already revolted, and it looked as if the empire must quickly dissolve.

About this time Alcibiades provided a diversion. He had tired of the Spartans and they of him, and when he was in Asia Minor they endeavoured to have him assassinated. Warned of this, and realising that there was no future for him in Sparta, he fled to Tissaphernes, who protected him for 411.
a time. He pointed out to the satrap that it might not be best for Persia that Athens should be entirely crushed, and Sparta unduly exalted, but that the truer policy would be to prolong the struggle until both combatants were exhausted.

This advice commended itself to Tissaphernes, who showed less zeal in his support of Sparta, and kept her fleet idle. But he was not specially enamoured of Alcibiades, and seeing this, the latter determined to make friends with Athens again if he could. As he was an oligarch at heart the best way seemed to be through the medium of an oligarchic restoration, and he accordingly wrote to officers of the army at Samos and stated that if an oligarchy was re-established at Athens, he could obtain for them an alliance with Persia. The time was favourable for such a scheme. The republic had acted unwisely in many ways, and there were many who thought that an oligarchy would have done better. Accordingly, whilst the matter was kept from the knowledge of the rank and file, a deputation of officers headed by Peisander went to Athens and laid the proposals of Alcibiades before the Ecclesia. They met with much opposition, but the desperate condition of affairs was realised, and ten commissioners were sent with Peisander to Asia to ascertain how far Tissaphernes was willing to go. They found that he would not go far. If he did not mean to help Sparta, he certainly had no thought of helping Athens, the most he would do was to remain neutral. One thing was clear, that Alcibiades had none of the influence with the satrap to which he had pretended. The oligarchs, therefore, determined to have nothing more to do with Alcibiades, but they organised a revolution in Athens just the same. The way for the revolution was paved by the assassination of leading democrats ; and when the city was in a state of terror, a packed meeting of the assembly agreed to abolish the republic, and to substitute government by 400 members of the aristocracy. In order to give a popular tone to the new constitution, the 400 were to have the power of summoning a further body of 5,000, but no attempt was made to give effect to this part of the scheme.

411. Having cleared the Senate House by force of arms and made their position more sure by murdering their enemies, the oligarchs sent to King Agis at Decelea, told him what had

happened, and said that they were prepared to treat for peace. For once the Spartans acted promptly, for the king, thinking the opportunity golden, marched upon Athens; but the Athenians were too quick for him, and he had to retire with loss. Meanwhile the Athenian soldiers at Samos heard what the oligarchs had done, and in great wrath rose upon their officers, deposed all who favoured oligarchy and gave the command to Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, two well-known republicans. They went still farther; for when Alcibiades, who had now broken with the oligarchy, professed his willingness to get Tissaphernes to help the republic, they elected him as third general.

The oligarchs had seized the reins of government, but did not find it easy to govern. They were disunited, for some thought that they should govern the city entirely by the strong hand; whilst others, seeing that the only hope of permanence lay in giving satisfaction to the governed, advised that the assembly of 5,000, which had been promised, should be created. At first these liberal proposals were scouted, but when the envoys who had gone to Samos returned and reported the state of affairs in the army, the popular party became more resolute. The oligarchs, seeing their power slipping away, began to build a fort at Piræus to dominate the harbour mouth, and sent messengers to the Spartans offering to give them possession; but the Spartans fearing treachery delayed, and the patriotic citizens becoming suspicious, rose against the oligarchs, killed their leader, and tore down the fort. When, therefore, the Spartan fleet arrived and found the fort destroyed and their chief supporter slain, they turned and sailed to Eubœa. The Athenians chased them with such vessels as they could gather, but their fleet being insufficient for such an undertaking, they were badly beaten, and the Eubœans, encouraged by the defeat, revolted 411.
throughout the island.

The revolt of Eubœa was a heavy blow to Athens, for since the occupation of Attica by Sparta, the Athenians had

kept their cattle in the island, and it was really essential to their existence. If now they could neither grow food in Attica nor store it in Eubœa, they must depend upon supplies from abroad, and as they had largely lost control of the sea, the end drew near. Just as the losses at Syracuse were laid at the door of the republic, so the loss of Eubœa was visited on the oligarchy, and the citizens, rising with one accord, thrust them from power. A few of the leaders were captured and executed, while the majority escaped and found refuge in the states which were hostile to Athens.

But just when the day seemed darkest a gleam of brightness came. Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, having been kept idle for months by Tissaphernes, determined to try whether Pharnabazus would help him more freely, and sailed to the Hellespont. The Athenian admirals, knowing that control of the Hellespont was imperative if Athens was not to be starved, set out after him with all speed and defeated him
410. twice. In the spring, having been reinforced, Mindarus attempted to escape, but was attacked at Cyzicus and routed both on land and sea. So much affected were the Spartans
409. by these defeats that they sent an ambassador to Athens to treat for peace, offering to evacuate Decelea, other things to be left as they were. But the Athenians refused to treat, seeing a chance of recovering lost ground, and although the refusal was unwise it was not unnatural. Indeed the events that immediately followed seemed to justify their decision, for the revolted towns on the Bosphorus were recaptured, and the passage to the Black Sea kept so clear that corn came in abundance. As a result Pharnabazus, who was bearing the expense of the war, lost heart and began to wonder whether Athens might not be a more profitable ally than Sparta. At this juncture, however, circumstances occurred which completely changed the aspect of affairs.

CHAPTER XXV.

ATHENS IN THE DUST.

The Athenian fleet in the Hellespont had been commanded by Alcibiades, who had done such good service that he thought 408.
he might now venture to return to his native city. He was well received, readmitted to citizenship, confirmed as general, and sent back to Asia with an expedition. But when he arrived there he found that important changes had taken place, for the Spartans had sent Lysander to command their fleet, and Darius had sent his younger son Cyrus to be satrap.

Cyrus was young and energetic, and his arrival was a sign that the half-hearted policy of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus was to end, and that Athens was to be crushed. As soon as Cyrus reached his province he sent for Lysander and told him that money was not to be stinted, and that he might build ships and engage mercenaries at will. Thus supported, Lysander was speedily successful against Alcibiades, who, acting 407.
negligently, again lost the confidence of the Athenians and was superseded, Conon and the strategi taking his place. At the end of a year the Spartans changed their leader in the usual way, sending Callicratidas in the place of Lysander. Cyrus was displeased at the change and withdrew his support, but Callicratidas was an able general and blockaded the Athenian fleet in Mytilene. Conon managed to get the news through to Athens, and a prodigious effort was made to relieve him. In a short time 150 ships were sent, and in a battle at 406.
Arginusæ the Spartan fleet was destroyed and Callicratidas drowned. The rejoicing at Athens was marred by the fact that through an oversight twelve Athenian vessels were

allowed to founder with their crews. The strategi were recalled to answer for this neglect, and six who obeyed the summons were most unjustly condemned and executed. It is interesting to notice that Socrates protested against the illegality of these proceedings by which Athens deprived herself of six leading officers at a time when she stood sorely in need of men.

The victory of Arginusæ did Athens little good, for Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral who was now dead, had detested the alliance between Sparta and Persia, and expressed his determination to make peace with Athens at the earliest opportunity. Lysander, who preceded and again succeeded him, was a man of a different type. He hated Athens, and cared not what weapon he might use in her discomfiture. Being a favourite with Cyrus he soon gathered another fleet and was in a position to take active measures. Cautiously avoiding a general engagement he sailed to the Hellespont to intercept the Athenian corn ships, and having captured Lampsacus on the Asiatic shore, made that his headquarters; whilst
405. the Athenians, following him with 180 vessels, lay opposite at Ægospotami. As the Athenians believed themselves more powerful than Lysander they took little care, and when he declined combat day after day they got into the habit of disembarking and dispersing in search of food. Lysander heard of their want of caution, and one day, after receiving a signal that the men had landed as usual, he crossed swiftly and captured almost the entire fleet. Conon, the Athenian admiral, escaped with a few ships, but fearing to return to Athens took service with the king of Cyprus.

When the news of this terrible disaster reached Athens, the people were in despair. The fortifications were manned, but it was clear to all that resistance was no longer possible. They had lost Eubœa, Attica was overrun by the enemy, their fleet was gone, Lysander was master of the sea, no ships could approach with food, and surrender could at the best be but a question of a few months. Knowing this Lysander made no

haste. Sailing round leisurely he summoned the Athenian garrisons, and as soon as they capitulated sent them to Athens to swell the general misery. Ally after ally fell off, until of the great Athenian empire only Samos remained loyal, nor did she capitulate until Athens herself had fallen.

At length Lysander appeared before Piræus, whilst Agis, the Spartan king, blockaded Athens on the landward side. The city held out for a time, but in four months was forced 404. by famine to surrender. The Corinthians and Thebans wished to destroy it utterly; but the Spartans, believing that Athens might be useful as a dependency, refused to adopt extreme measures, and peace was made on terms which, considering the melancholy circumstances, were not unreasonable. The long walls and fortifications were demolished, foreign possessions given up, ships of war surrendered, all exiles readmitted, and Athens became a subject ally of Sparta, furnishing her with a contingent of troops when called upon. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, after it had lasted for twenty-seven years, and thus for a time at least ended the Athenian Empire.

When Lysander entered Athens there came in his train many of the Four Hundred who had fled from the city when the oligarchy was deposed and who now saw their opportunity. Amongst these the leading spirit was Critias, a clever but unprincipled man.

With the help of Lysander and a Spartan garrison, a committee of thirty was appointed to govern the city, the Dicasteries and Ecclesia were abolished, and the Senate purged of all who favoured the republic. Then began a reign of terror, assassination and plunder. Hundreds of citizens were put to death without trial, and none who had either republican leanings or wealth were safe.

The tyrants endeavoured to implicate as many as possible in their deeds by compelling respectable citizens to accompany their officers when they went to arrest their victims, and on one of these occasions they endeavoured to impress Socrates, but he flatly refused, though at the risk of his life. This

tyranny went on until about 1,500 had been put to death and large numbers exiled. It might have gone on longer, but that the position of Sparta had changed even in a few months. The states which, in alliance with her, had fought for twenty-seven years to ruin Athens and make Sparta supreme, began to see the folly of their conduct. Sparta had pretended to fight the battle of autonomy on behalf of the Greek cities, but they found that now that she herself had the power, she ruled with a rod of iron. Instead of gaining the autonomy for which they had striven, the cities found themselves under oligarchies supported by Spartan governors and garrisons, ruling with a severity compared with which the rule of Athens had been mildness itself. The oligarchy in Athens by its cruel and suicidal methods speedily alienated all classes of the people, and so many had been driven out of the city that the exiles formed a considerable band. Some of these gathered under Thrasybulus and made a descent upon Attica, seizing Phyle, a small fortress fifteen miles north of the capital. The oligarchs sent troops against them, but they were defeated, and this early success encouraged others to join the patriotic band. Thus strengthened, Thrasybulus descended on Piræus suddenly, and occupied a temple. Here he was attacked by Critias but was again successful, Critias being slain. The oligarchs, now at their wits end, appealed to Sparta for help, and a Spartan army was sent, but Lysander and his methods had become unpopular in Sparta itself, so that he was not entrusted with the command, and King Pausanias who led the army determined to pacify the city by restoring the republic.

Before the restoration Alcibiades was dead. On being superseded as admiral by the Athenians he retired to Chersonesus, and was near Ægospotami at the time of the great disaster, and indeed warned the Athenian captains of the risk they were running by their carelessness. After the battle he took refuge with Pharnabazus, but was assassinated, apparently in private revenge for evil he had wrought whilst living in Sparta.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SOCRATES.

In a world peopled by imperfect men no form of government works perfectly, and like other systems republicanism has its faults. But it has this advantage, that a greater number of people are induced to interest themselves in public affairs, and therefore there is a tendency for the citizens to reach a higher intellectual average than can be looked for under autocratic rule. The history of Athens during the period of which we have been speaking illustrates this truth. During the republican century of the city, lying between the reforms of Cleisthenes and the fall of her empire, although her political career was chequered, her intellectual life prospered. Many of the men whose writings are still looked upon as supplying the best foundation for culture took part in the incidents we have been recounting and shall hereafter recount. Æschylus, the founder of the tragic drama, fought at Marathon and Salamis; Sophocles was a general in the days of Pericles; Euripides, of whose writings so much yet remains, died just before Ægospotami; and Aristophanes, the writer of comedy, was contemporary with the Peloponnesian war, against which he justly inveighed. The development of the drama was helped by the fact that it was a national institution—plays being performed publicly, and prizes given by the city for the best. But intellectual development was by no means confined to the drama. The opportunities for speaking afforded by the public assemblies and courts of justice produced rhetoricians and dialecticians of a high order. Freedom of speech was tolerated in Athens in a way hardly paralleled even in

modern states, and great mental activity was the result. In no other city was the average intellectual attainment of the citizens so high, and from this higher level there arose intellectual giants who left an indelible mark on the world.

Amongst Athenians none surpassed Socrates either in in-
469. tellectual greatness or moral worth. He was born at Athens, was the son of a sculptor and had himself modelled successfully. He had served the state in the Peloponnesian war, and shown courage and endurance of a high order. His heart was, however, chiefly in philosophy, and at last he gave up his life to teaching in the public places, willingly and even gratuitously instructing all who came. He left no writings, so that we gain our knowledge of him through the works of others, and especially through the writings of Xenophon and Plato, two of his pupils.

Socrates' method was conversational, and his aim seems to have been to awaken and train the moral consciousness of those whom he taught. As a preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge he taught humility, and for this reason his method, though appreciated by earnest seekers after truth, was intolerable to men who were wise in their own conceits. Affecting ignorance of the subject, and assuming the position of a disciple, Socrates asked questions, at first apparently innocent, but which gradually led his antagonist on until he was landed in contradiction and confusion.

If men were willing to learn, Socrates could teach them much, discoursing with rare wisdom on many subjects, temperance, self-control, piety, brotherly love, and the like. He was not like many professed philosophers, a mere guesser at things beyond his reach, he had the true missionary spirit, and sought to direct the mind to higher things. His conceptions of the Deity, his trust in His goodness, his far-seeing thoughts concerning Eternity were not of man. He implicitly believed that he was guided by a divine spirit, and we need not doubt but that God who is no respecter of persons, but

accepts in every nation those who fear Him and work righteousness, accepted and used the rugged old Athenian.

Socrates' work as a teacher extended over thirty years. He made many friends by his great qualities, and many enemies by his plain speaking. Twice we know that he risked his life by taking a stand against the authority for the time being. When the six generals were being tried unjustly after 406.
the battle of Arginusæ, Socrates was the only one of the Prytanes who refused to consent to the trial, although by thus opposing the people he ran great personal risk. Again, during the reign of terror, when the thirty tyrants were in power and trying to implicate the citizens in their misdeeds, they sent for Socrates and four others and ordered them to fetch Leon, an excellent man, from Salamis, that they might put him to death. "There again," said Socrates afterwards, "I showed not by word but by deed, that I care for death not a jot, but that to avoid doing anything unjust or unholy, this, I say, is all my care. For that Government, for all its rigour, did not dismay me into doing anything unjust, but when we came out of the Deme, although the four others went off to Salamis to fetch Leon, I went off home. And perhaps I might have been put to death for this if the Government had not been dissolved a short time afterwards."

In the midst of the strife of parties, and the great struggle between oligarchy and democracy, Socrates kept a straight path, pleading on behalf of righteousness and against injustice wherever they appeared. As a consequence he had friends and enemies in both camps. The thirty tyrants, of whom Critias was leader, persecuted him, and even issued a decree which was specially levelled at him, forbidding the teaching of the art of oratory. On the other hand, after the oligarchy had been deposed, and its members banished, the leaders of the republic were unfavourably disposed towards him because he was not wholly sympathetic towards their government, and because some of his friends and students had been members of the oligarchy. At length three men, who

thought they had special grounds of grievance, laid an indictment against him, declaring that he did not honour the gods whom the city worshipped, and that he misled the young men by his teaching.

The dicastery which tried him numbered about 600, and the trial was conducted fairly enough, but Socrates did not defend himself as one who cared to be acquitted. He was seventy years of age and perhaps thought that it would be better that he should die before old age enfeebled his powers. In any case he did not fear death, and would not belie the rugged independence of his life by whining for mercy. His "apology," therefore, was not of a nature calculated to soothe, and he was found guilty, though only by five or six votes. By the Athenian system it was necessary for the accusers, after a conviction, to propose a penalty, for the accused to propose an alternative, and for the jury to decide between them. In the case of Socrates the accusers demanded the death penalty, which was manifestly too severe, and had Socrates at once suggested a moderate fine it would have been carried. Instead of this he said that he thought the proper sentence would be that he should be maintained for the rest of his life at public cost in the Prytaneum, amongst those who had performed distinguished state service. He declared that he could not pay a large fine, for all the money he had would not amount to more than four pounds, and if they liked he would assess the fine at that. As for banishment he was not so irrational as to imagine that if his fellow countrymen could not bear him, foreigners would; and a fine life he would have of it if he was to leave the country at his age and pass his time changing from city to city, getting turned out of one after the other. At last, his friends beseeching him to propose a larger fine, he said:—

"Plato here, and Crito, and Critobulus, and Apollodorus bid me assess the fine at £120, and offer themselves as security. I assess it then at so much."

Had he said this at once, it might have been accepted, but

his former remarks, though perfectly true and wonderfully characteristic of the man, had given offence, and by a larger though still comparatively narrow majority he was condemned to death. After his condemnation he briefly addressed the jury with consummate calmness and dignity. He could have escaped death just as one in battle could escape it by throwing up his arms and supplicating his pursuers, but he did not think it proper on account of mere danger to do anything unbecoming. He was not afraid of death. If it was a sleep, as some said, as one sleeps and does not even dream, what a gain that would be. If it was an entrance into a new life where one would meet with those who had gone before, what a delight that would be. He was full of hope concerning death, and sure of this that no evil could befall a good man either here or hereafter.

"And now," he said in conclusion, "it is time to depart, for me to die and for you to live; but which of us is going to the better state is known to no one but God."

Owing to the approach of the festival of Delos there had to be a delay of thirty days before the end, and during this time he might easily have escaped. But he said that the law had appointed him to die, and as a good citizen he would obey it. Plato has preserved for us many of his farewell words. During the last hours of his life he expressed his immovable belief in the immortality of the soul.

When the time came for him to drink the hemlock, his jailor, a man doubtless made of stern enough material, pleaded with him not to curse him for doing his duty as so many of his prisoners did, and then bursting into tears withdrew. As he drank the fatal draught his disciples broke into lamentation, but he gently rebuked them, and lying down calmly awaited the end. It soon came, and without a struggle, and almost without a sigh, the great philosopher went home to God. 399.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

THE subjugation of Athens had been largely owing to the assistance given to Sparta by Cyrus, the younger son of Darius Nothus, who had been appointed by his father satrap of Lydia. Darius had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and by right of seniority the succession belonged to the former; but Cyrus, being the favourite of his mother, Queen Parysatis,
404. hoped to obtain the crown. When, therefore, Darius died shortly after the battle of Ægospotami, and Artaxerxes succeeded, Cyrus plotted against his brother's life. The plot was discovered, and he would have been executed but for the queen, at whose entreaty he was forgiven and allowed to return to his satrapy. Instead of showing gratitude Cyrus vowed vengeance, and determined to have the kingdom at any cost. Just then the Peloponnesian war had come to an end, and many Greek soldiers of fortune were out of employment. Cyrus appreciated the military qualities of the Greeks, and saw how valuable they would be against his brother's Asiatic levies, and as he was specially popular with the Spartans he employed Clearchus, who had been Spartan governor of Byzantium, to enlist likely men, pretending that he only meant to use them in petty wars. At the same time he collected Asiatic soldiers in various centres, so that he had at length 13,000 Greek and 100,000 Asiatics at his command.
401. With these he marched eastward, professing to be about to punish certain rebellious tribes. Of course Clearchus and some of the leading officers must have known the truth, and it is hardly likely that even the soldiers were altogether

deceived, but the full truth had not been told, and when they at last learned it, they had gone too far to draw back, and were satisfied with the additional rewards which Cyrus promised. But Tissaphernes, the satrap, guessed his purpose and sped to inform Artaxerxes, who levied a great army to meet him.

The march was accomplished without opposition until Cunaxa was reached, a place only a few days' journey from Babylon. Here the army of Artaxerxes came in sight, and a battle followed in which the Greeks easily routed the section opposed to them; but, pursuing too far, returned to find that Cyrus had been slain in a rash charge made upon his brother's bodyguard.

The Asiatic troops in Cyrus' army at once changed sides, and the Greeks were left alone in the midst of enemies—1,500 miles from home. Tissaphernes professed his willingness to serve them, but when the leading generals went to a conference with him they were basely massacred. The Greeks were now in a state of profound dejection, but Xenophon, an Athenian and an old disciple of Socrates, stood forward and by his presence of mind and stirring words so restored confidence that new generals were appointed, a bold front shown to the enemy, and a well-ordered retreat begun. Aware that they could not possibly return by the route along which they had come, they made for the mountains of Armenia with the view of reaching the Black Sea. So long as they were in the plains they were harassed by the Persians, but when they reached Armenia these fell off. The march was beset with difficulties, and they had to face the severities of an Armenian winter; nevertheless, by splendid generalship and indomitable courage, they at last reached the Greek city of Trebizond on 400.
the Black Sea. But not even there did trouble end, for the Asiatic Greeks, dreading to have such a host of hardy adventurers in their midst, showed them little kindness. When they reached Byzantium they were indeed treated with gross cruelty, the Spartan governor of that city, their own fellow-countryman, actually selling their sick and wounded into slavery.

At this time the Spartans were in alliance with Persia; but fortunately for the 10,000, their policy with regard to that empire suddenly changed. The change was partly owing to the successful retreat of the men themselves, which so graphically demonstrated the feebleness of the Persian empire, that the Spartans determined to utilise the knowledge for their aggrandisement. Accordingly they declared war against
399. Tissaphernes, now returned to his satrapy, and Thimbron their general was glad to incorporate in his army as many of the 10,000 as would enlist.

Xenophon went to Athens for a time, arriving there shortly after the death of Socrates, but becoming tired of an uneventful life he returned to Asia and joined his old comrades in the Spartan army. Two years later, when Thebes and Sparta were at war, and Athens had a contingent helping the Thebans, Xenophon fought at Coronea on the side of Sparta, and therefore against his native city. This was unpardonable, and he was banished from Athens, upon which he settled in Peloponnesus, and devoted the rest of his life to farming and literature. Before his death the sentence of banishment was revoked, and afterwards he was honoured in Athens both as a historian and for the genius he had shown in rescuing so many Greeks from such imminent peril.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA.

THE battle of Ægospotami broke the power of Athens, and 405.
made Sparta supreme over the Greek cities; but these soon perceived that they had not made a change for the better, and their love for Sparta waxed cold. This was partly because they no longer feared Athens, but they were also disgusted with the supercilious encroachments of Sparta, and with the wretched governments which Lysander had established. Filling all important offices with his personal friends, he set up in every city which had been subject to Athens an oligarchy of ten citizens with a Spartan harmost or governor and a Spartan garrison. These all worked hand in hand so that the citizens were really at the mercy of alien governors and garrisons, against whose tyranny there was no appeal. Even the tribute, which had been the chief cause of dispute with Athens, was increased by Sparta.

This was the state of affairs when the Spartans declared war against Persia. The experiences of the 10,000 convinced 399.
them that the Persian empire was, after all, a hollow affair, and that they could defy it with impunity. On the other hand, Artaxerxes had been provoked by the support given by the Spartans to Cyrus, for the 10,000 were mostly Peloponnesians, and Sparta had sent a fleet to Cilicia to co-operate. After Cunaxa, therefore, Tissaphernes returned to his satrapy with orders to show Sparta no favour, and to subdue the cities of the Asiatic Greeks as speedily as possible. Sparta had therefore nothing more to expect from Persia, and seeing a chance

of plunder by warring against her she once more espoused the cause of the cities which only a few years before she had handed over to the Persians.

Thimbron, to whom the Spartans first entrusted the conduct of the war in Asia, achieved little, and was succeeded by Dercyllidas who was somewhat more successful. Then
399. Agis, king of Sparta died, and Lysander, who had still much influence, put his friend Agesilaus, brother of the late king, upon the throne, thinking to find him a willing tool, but Agesilaus had more character than Lysander suspected, and
397. proved a match for him. Being eager to fight Persia, Agesilaus superseded Dercyllidas in Asia Minor, Lysander accompanying him as chief councillor. Trying to pose before Greece as a second Agamemnon, Agesilaus went to Aulis, a city in Theban territory, to offer sacrifice before sailing, but the Theban cavalry appeared, threw down his altar and chased him to his ships—a clear proof that in Bœotia hatred of Sparta had conquered fear, and an insult never forgiven by Agesilaus.

After their arrival in Asia, Agesilaus and Lysander quarrelled, and Lysander had to withdraw, the king appointing him to a command on the Hellespont. Agesilaus then attacked Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes with so much success that Artaxerxes had the latter beheaded, and sent Tithraustes in his place. This satrap was not a whit more successful in the field than his predecessor, and it seemed as if Agesilaus would complete the conquest of Western Asia. At last Tithraustes, despairing of overcoming the Spartans in Asia, sent Timocrates across to Europe with plenty of money, and orders to foment rebellion amongst the states which were discontented with Spartan rule.

Timocrates found his mission easy, for the feeling against Sparta was running high, and Thebes especially was thirsting for war. An opportunity soon offered. The Locrians made a raid on the Phocians, and when the latter appealed to Sparta for help, the former applied to Thebes, and war followed.
395. The Spartans were led by Lysander and Pausanias, and

Lysander invaded Bœotia, and, expecting Pausanias to follow immediately, attacked Haliartus. But before Pausanias could come up, a sortie was made by the townsmen with so much spirit that Lysander was slain and his army dispersed. When Pausanias arrived next day he was so astonished that he made a truce and retreated to Peloponnesus without fighting, for which conduct he was impeached on his return to Sparta. This victory, accompanied by the death of so powerful an enemy as Lysander, greatly encouraged the opposition, and Thebes, Corinth, Argos and Athens allied themselves against Sparta. Such was the gravity of the situation that the Spartans recalled Agesilaus from Asia Minor, so that he had, greatly against his will, to abandon his schemes of conquest and return, leaving Euxenus in charge of such land forces as he could spare, and Peisander, his brother-in-law, in charge of the fleet.

Agesilaus took the land route, and, marching by Thrace and Macedonia, reached Greece in thirty days; but before he arrived battles had been fought between Sparta and her enemies both on land and sea—the Spartans having gained the battle of Corinth, and lost the battle of Cnidus.

Whilst Tithraustes was successfully rousing up enemies 394.
against Sparta on land, Pharnabazus had placed a fleet of Phœnician vessels under the command of Conon, the Athenian admiral, who had been so unfortunate at Ægospotami. Conon met the Spartan fleet at Cnidus, and was completely victorious, Peisander being slain and his fleet shattered. Cnidus was a reversal of Ægospotami, and it broke Sparta's naval power. Agesilaus heard of the battle the night before he encountered the enemy at Coronea, and kept the news secret lest it should discourage his troops. In the battle of Coronea which followed the Spartans were victorious, but it was so fiercely contested and they lost so many men that Agesilaus dared not attempt anything further, and was glad to cross the Gulf of Corinth and reach Peloponnesus by sea.

With the battle of Cnidus fell the Spartan power in Asia.

Conon and Pharnabazus sailed from city to city expelling the Spartan garrisons. Everywhere they were hailed as liberators, and thus passed away Agesilaus' dream of Asiatic empire.

393. Having driven the Spartans out of Asia, Conon and Pharnabazus crossed the Ægean and harried the Spartan coast itself, after which they anchored at Piræus, and as the fleet was now idle Conon persuaded Pharnabazus to let him employ his men in rebuilding the long walls and fortifications which had been in ruins for ten years. Thus Conon, whose name had been unhappily associated with the disaster which ruined his native city, was the means of restoring it. The rebuilding of the fortifications so encouraged the Athenians that they once again began to build a fleet. In little more than two years they were able to send forty ships to sea, and the city lifted up her head, although but a shadow of her former self.

Meanwhile Corinth, by reason of her position in Peloponnesus, was bearing the brunt of the war against Sparta, and the Spartans had obtained possession of the port of Lechæum and were surrounding Corinth itself. At this time an incident happened of some interest from a military point of view.

It entered into the mind of Iphicrates, an Athenian, to try a new method of fighting for the purpose of neutralising the apparently overwhelming advantages possessed by the hoplites. Accordingly he organised a body of peltasts, light-armed, mobile troops with swords and long javelins, who being more nimble than the hoplites could harass them on all sides, and advance and retreat at will. These troops proved very

391. effective, and after practising them in smaller engagements Iphicrates attacked a Spartan battalion 600 strong and destroyed it. This novel method of fighting, by which the fine effect of Spartan discipline seemed about to be neutralised, produced a sensation; and, added to their recent misfortunes on the sea, so alarmed the Spartans that they determined to make peace. Instead of approaching their enemies directly,

they adopted the round-about method of sending Antalcidas, an able politician, to seek the help of Persia in favour of a general peace. They were assisted in the negotiation by Tribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes as satrap in Asia Minor. Antalcidas persuaded Tribazus that it was not to the interest of Persia to help Athens further, and the satrap actually threw Conon into prison. After this untoward incident the admiral disappears from history, but it is believed that he escaped from prison, took service with the king of Cyprus, and died shortly after. He had done excellent work for Athens in his last days, and his memory deserves our respect.

Antalcidas and Tribazus went up to Susa and arranged 387.
the terms of a peace to be submitted to the various states. It ran as follows:—

"King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus should belong to him. He also thinks it just that the other Grecian cities, both small and great, should be independent except Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, he will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money."

This peace was disgraceful from a Grecian point of view, as it once more handed over to Persia the cities of the Asiatic Greeks, and acknowledged the Persian king as arbiter of the destinies of Greece. From a Spartan standpoint it was adroit; for, by acknowledging the independence of every Greek city, it theoretically broke up the Athenian and Theban confederacies, and prepared a way by which Sparta might hope to become absolute in Greece. Nevertheless the States were tired of the war, and as none of them cared to face the combined forces of Sparta and Persia, the peace was agreed to, after strong protest from Thebes.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE RISE OF THEBES.

387. THE only gainers by the peace of Antalcidas were Persia and Sparta. Persia, now definitely recognised as suzerain of the Asiatic Greeks, proceeded to confirm her power by building citadels and placing governors and garrisons in the various cities. As for Sparta she had not only broken up the combination which had been formed against her, but by the clause recognising the autonomy of the cities had made combination less likely in the future. No sooner was the peace signed than she proclaimed the independence of the Bœotian cities, organised oligarchies favourable to herself, and in some instances placed garrisons in the cities. She even went the length of restoring Platæa, which she herself had destroyed, merely that it might be a thorn in the side of Thebes.

Whilst Sparta insisted upon the other states carrying out the terms of the treaty, she took care that none of the cities subject to herself should obtain autonomy, thus keeping her own federation intact whilst breaking up every other. Mantinea, for instance, had been slack in sending contingents, and was suspected of having supplied corn to Argos during the war. Sparta accordingly attacked it, destroyed its fortifications, and divided the city itself into villages each governed by a separate oligarchy. The town of Phlius was treated in similarly high-handed fashion. Thus the policy of Sparta was as narrow and jealous as ever, being based upon the old principle that every other state should be depressed in order that she might remain strong. This very selfishness, however, proved her ruin.

It happened that trouble arose in the Chalcidian peninsula, where Olynthus, the chief city, had become head of a confederacy and was now waxing powerful. Two cities, Acanthus and Apollonia, refused to join the league, and when threatened they appealed to Sparta, who, jealous of Olynthus, promised help.

An army was sent north upon this mission, part of which marching under Phœbidas, chanced to halt near Thebes, between which city and Sparta there was peace. Leontiades, the leader of the pro-Spartan party in Thebes, came out to see Phœbidas and informed him that there was at that moment a chance of surprising the city, as a religious festival was in progress, and the citadel was entirely occupied by women. Phœbidas listened to the traitor, and in spite of the peace existing between the states, treacherously entered, took the city by surprise and garrisoned the citadel. 382.

When the Spartans heard what had been done they simulated wrath and fined Phœbidas, but kept possession of the city—a gross breach of faith which cost them their empire in the end. The leading Thebans fled to Athens; the prisons in Thebes were crowded with such patriots as remained; and for three years the city passed through the valley of humiliation.

Meanwhile, the rest of the Spartan army had gone north; and after a protracted struggle, Olynthus was captured, and a confederacy dissolved which might have formed a bulwark against the power of Macedonia.

Sparta seemed now in an enviable position. She was supreme in Peloponnesus, her troops occupied Thebes, the Chalcidian cities enrolled themselves as her allies, and she was on friendly terms with Persia, Syracuse and Macedonia. Yet whilst apparently prosperous she was on the brink of ruin, and her destruction was destined to come through that very city which she had treated with so much contempt, and against which she had committed so flagrant a breach of international morality.

Whilst Thebes was lying under the heel of Sparta, communication was kept up between those patriots who were dwelling in the city and those who had taken refuge in Athens. Amongst the latter were Pelopidas and Epaminondas, men of high courage and ability, the former a brilliant soldier, the
379. latter both soldier and statesman. With a view to ejecting the Spartan garrison from Thebes, a plot was formed for slaying the polemarchs, and it was carried out with great daring and complete success. Pelopidas and six others got access to the city disguised as countrymen, and next night they assassinated the polemarchs, released the political prisoners, and by sound of trumpet summoned the citizens to arms. Had the Spartan garrison acted promptly they might have crushed the revolt, but they were so surprised that they shut themselves up in the citadel; and, as the exiles flocked from every side, the success of the revolt was secured. When Pelopidas proceeded to storm the citadel the garrison capitulated, and the Spartans were allowed to depart in safety, leaving their Theban supporters to be massacred.

The Spartans in a rage executed the commanders of the garrison which had capitulated, and sent King Cleombrotus to recover Thebes, but he achieved nothing. Thus far Athens had kept out of the quarrel, but a reckless attempt made by Sphodrias, a Spartan general, to surprise Athens as Thebes had been surprised, aroused such indignation that Athens joined Thebes and declared war against Sparta.

378. Both Athens and Thebes now strained every nerve. Athens had been successful against the allies of Sparta on the sea, and had established a new maritime league on better lines than the last. It was arranged that the governments in the cities should not be interfered with, and that they should not pay tribute but merely subscribe to the common war fund. The league numbered seventy cities, but never approached the strength of the earlier one.

The Thebans, delighted at having recovered their freedom, were full of enthusiasm. During the Peloponnesian war they

had been little behind Sparta in military qualities, and they had in Pelopidas and Epaminondas the ablest generals in Greece. These set themselves to improve the army, and when the Spartans sent troops to attack them they avoided battle, so that the enemy made no progress. On one 375.
occasion when the armies met almost by accident at Tegyra, the Thebans although outnumbered were victorious. The Athenians were equally successful on the sea, and the military prestige of Sparta was evidently on the wane, but unfortunately the jealousy and distrust which had existed so long between Thebes and Athens revived, and Athens retired from the alliance and offered peace to Sparta.

With the hope of bringing about a general peace, a congress was held in Sparta at which all the states interested were represented. A treaty was entered into by the terms 371.
of which the independence of the Greek cities was recognised, and it was signed by various states. When the turn of Thebes came, Epaminondas demanded to sign for the whole of Bœotia, but Agesilaus refused to allow this. Epaminondas was firm, declaring that since Sparta signed for Laconia, Thebes had a right to sign for Bœotia. The city was accordingly struck out of the treaty, and the Theban envoys went home without allies and with anxious thoughts concerning the future. The Spartans, on the other hand, were delighted at the turn affairs had taken. For years they had longed to root the very name of Thebes from the earth, and they believed that the hour had come.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SUPREMACY OF THEBES.

371. It happened that at the very time when the peace was being concluded at Sparta, the Spartan king Cleombrotus was in Phocis with an army, so he was ordered to invade Bœotia without delay. Epaminondas hurried to occupy the passes, but Cleombrotus evaded him, and he had barely time to throw himself in front of Thebes when the Spartans were upon him in the plain of Leuctra. The energy of the Spartans took the heart out of the Bœotians, some of whom were not very cordial towards Thebes in any case, and it needed all the persuasion of Epaminondas and Pelopidas to keep the army from breaking up.

Epaminondas had long expected this contest, and after much consideration had determined on a new departure in military tactics. Hitherto Greek armies had attacked in a line of uniform depth, and Epaminondas knew that in battle the Spartans were generally stationed on the right wing of their army in a formation about twelve files deep. If he met them in similar fashion defeat was sure, as he had fewer men, and these greatly dispirited. He determined, therefore, to concentrate his most reliable troops on his left wing facing the Spartans, and to keep back the rest of his forces until he had struck a tremendous blow at their right wing. Accordingly he massed the Thebans, on whom he chiefly relied, in a solid square fifty men deep, and staked his all upon one great effort. If the square failed to break the Spartan line all was lost; if it was victorious the rest of the battle would take care of itself. This system of attack, then

for the first time introduced by Epaminondas, and termed now "attaque en échelon," was used with great effect in modern times by Buonaparte. The nature of the formation was masked from the enemy by the cavalry, but when these cleared away the square charged straight at the spot where Cleombrotus and the picked troops of Sparta were arrayed. The Spartans fought well, but the square was irresistible. Cleombrotus was mortally wounded, most of his staff fell, and at the cry from Epaminondas of "one step more and the day is ours," the Spartan line broke and the beaten soldiers fled to their entrenchments. The fighting had lasted but a few minutes, yet half the Spartans and most of their officers were left dead on the field. Just as Epaminondas had expected, the defeat of the Spartans was followed by the retreat of their allies, and during the night the army melted away. On the borders they met the entire Spartan reserve coming to their rescue, but it came too late and they returned together. Only three weeks before Thebes had been treated with scorn by Sparta, and now the scorner's pride was humbled in the dust and her power broken. It was the rule at Sparta to treat defeated warriors with insult and to deprive them of citizenship. This time the rule was allowed to sleep. For Sparta the day of heroics had passed, her empire crumbled quickly, for it depended entirely upon the sword, and a greater military power had arisen in Greece.

The change was at once felt in Peloponnesus. Mantinea, which had been divided into parts by Sparta, reunited and fortified herself. Arcadia, from which Sparta had long drawn her best soldiers, fell away; in Tegea and Argos her partisans were massacred—the Spartans not daring to interfere. Nor were the states satisfied with falling from Sparta, for they took active measures to make sure that they would never come under her power again. Hitherto Arcadia had consisted of disunited cities, but these now federated, and a new city was founded called Megalopolis, which was to be the capital of the state, and at which the chosen representatives of

the federated cities were to meet periodically in council. The scheme was not a permanent success, but it served its purpose for a time.

Next year Epaminondas determined to still further weaken Sparta. The Spartans were a military caste, devoting themselves to war whilst their subjects in Messenia, Arcadia and Laconia toiled for them. Arcadia had now declared herself independent, and Epaminondas saw that if Messenia could also regain her independence, the continued existence of Sparta as a purely military state would become impossible.

370. Accordingly he issued a proclamation inviting the Messenian exiles to return to their country, and followed it up by invading Peloponnesus. Instead of wasting time with smaller matters Epaminondas marched straight on Sparta and reached it without serious opposition. It was unfortified, and its case seemed desperate, for the Spartans could only put 2,000 citizens in the field; but by offering freedom to any Helots who would help them they raised the army to 8,000, and having erected barricades awaited the result. But Epaminondas mercifully determined not to put out "one of the eyes of Greece," and having circled round the city and destroyed its arsenal, marched westward to Messenia. He declared this province free, and built a citadel on Mount Ithome, connecting the town of Messene with it by fortifications. The work which he did in Messenia proved permanent, and Sparta was thus hemmed in by independent provinces.

Sparta, now fallen very low, in her despair sought help from Athens, and the Athenians, jealous of the rising power of Thebes, sent a force to the assistance of their ancient enemy.

369. When, therefore, Epaminondas set out the next year to invade Peloponnesus he found the isthmus of Corinth occupied by Athenian and Spartan troops. He broke through their line and entered the peninsula, but achieved little.

Next year the Thebans invaded Thessaly where Alexander of Pheræ was giving trouble. Pelopidas commanded the army, and compelled Alexander to solicit peace and give hostages.

Amongst these was a young man named Philip, afterwards to become famous as king of Macedon, and conqueror of Greece.

Later, Epaminondas made a third expedition into Peloponnesus, and enrolled the Achæan cities as allies, wisely refraining from interference with their governments. Unfortunately, this gave offence at Thebes, his proceedings were reversed, and Theban governors and garrisons sent to the subject cities. This was a blunder, for the citizens rose against their garrisons and made alliance with Sparta, thus giving her her first gleam of hope since Leuctra. Pride led the Thebans into another blunder. Fearing lest the Persians should help Sparta and Athens, they sent Pelopidas to the Persian court to beg Artaxerxes to recognise Thebes as the head state in Greece. Pelopidas had a powerful though humiliating argument, for Thebes had fought for Xerxes in former times, but it would have been better for her now had she refused to bow the knee to Baal. However, Pelopidas got a rescript from the king, and deputies were called to Thebes from the other states to hear it read. But the commands of the Persian monarch were treated with contempt by the deputies, and it was evident that his was no longer a name to conjure with. Just before this, Pelopidas, whilst travelling in Thessaly on state business, was thrown into prison by Alexander of Pheræ, and the Thebans sent an army to rescue him. The army was not under the command of Epaminondas, and the generals showed such incompetence that it was threatened with destruction. Fortunately, Epaminondas was serving in the ranks, and the soldiers placed their hero in command, after which they returned safely. The appointment of Epaminondas was at once confirmed by the Thebans, and returning to Thessaly he successfully rescued his friend. 367.

A few years later, Pelopidas, determined to be revenged, led an army into Thessaly against Alexander. He was victorious at Cynoscephalæ; but, seeing Alexander near him, foolishly rushed upon him unsupported, and like Cyrus at Cunaxa, 364.

threw his life away. The death of Pelopidas lessened the value of victory; but the following year a fresh army was sent into Thessaly, and Alexander was completely overcome.

During this period the Athenians had been trying to recover some fragments of their maritime empire, and had not been entirely unsuccessful. No longer fearful of Sparta, they sent a fleet into the Ægean and recovered Samos, Potidæa and other places. The Thebans, who were not a maritime people, tried to emulate them, but though Epaminondas cruised about for twelve months with a fleet he did nothing of consequence, and Thebes gave up the attempt.

During the absence of Epaminondas, affairs in Peloponnesus had again become menacing. Elis and Arcadia had been at war and the Arcadians had seized Olympia, had deposed the Eleians from their ancient position as managers of the Olympic games, and were actually appropriating the sacred treasure in the temple for war expenses. This act was looked upon as sacrilege by some of the cities, and they retired from the league—Mantinea being amongst the number. Sparta taking advantage of this disunion allied herself with the malcontents, and increased her influence to such an extent that the Thebans determined to counteract it. Accordingly, Epaminondas marched into Peloponnesus for the fourth time; and, after a futile attempt to surprise Sparta, fought a pitched
362. battle in front of Mantinea against her and her allies. Once more he showed consummate generalship, the enemy was routed and would have been cut to pieces, but that he himself received a mortal wound. The death of their general paralysed the Thebans, who made no attempt to follow up their advantage, but retired from Peloponnesus. That summer a peace was arranged between the combatants, and although the Spartans refused to sign it because their old subjects the Arcadians and Messenians were admitted on equal terms, their power had been so broken by Epaminondas that their consent or refusal mattered little.

King Agesilaus, who had lived long enough to see Sparta

ruined, made one further effort to win glory for his country. Tachos, king of Egypt, was in revolt against Persia, and Agesilaus took a force of 1,000 hoplites across to assist him. The Spartan king was eighty years of age, lame, and insignificant in appearance, and the Egyptians refused to entrust the command of the army to him. But they were poor judges of men, for Agesilaus joined Nectanebo, the rival of Tachos, and placed him on the throne instead. Nectanebo rewarded him with a gift of 230 talents, with which he was about to 361.
return home when he died. His body was embalmed and carried to Sparta, where it was buried with much ceremony. Archidamus, his son, succeeded to a decaying state, and Agesilaus might almost be called the last of the Spartans.

The death of Epaminondas was a misfortune not only to Thebes but to Greece. Cicero has spoken of him as the greatest of the Greeks, and certainly he was one of the greatest. His public and private life were alike blameless, and he had a breadth of view not common amongst Greeks. He died in his prime, and the work he had already done leads us to believe that he might have helped to unify Greece, and thus have saved her from falling under the rough hand of the Macedonian. Epaminondas, however, did not live long enough to consolidate the work so auspiciously begun. He had broken the power of Sparta, but he put nothing of permanent importance in her place. He raised Thebes to eminence, but left no worthy successor, and with his life her greatness passed away.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SICILY.

THE war which ended in the destruction of the Athenian armament commanded by Nicias and Demosthenes, left Syracuse triumphant but exhausted. Nevertheless, so satisfied were the Sicilians that the ruin of Athens was imminent that they sent a squadron to reinforce that of Sparta and operate against her in the Ægean Sea. Athens, however, showed remarkable vitality, and the war dragged on until
410. at the battle of Cyzicus, the Spartan and Syracusan squadrons were destroyed together.

Meanwhile the Segestans, already responsible for so much evil, brought further trouble upon the island. Having been again attacked by Selinus they sought the help of Carthage, at that time a prosperous and wealthy city. Seventy years before, at the time when Xerxes invaded Greece, the Carthaginians invaded Sicily, but were so disastrously defeated at Himera by Gelo of Syracuse, that they had not dared to intermeddle since. Their hesitation had been partly owing to a dread of Athens, then rising rapidly into prominence as a naval power, but when Athens was crushed they were ready to push forward. Accordingly they accepted the invitation given by Egesta to invade Sicily a second time,
409. and were more successful than on the former occasion, capturing and destroying the cities of Selinus and Himera. The destruction of these important Sicilian cities by an African host created a profound impression throughout Sicily, especially in Syracuse.

406. Three years later the Carthaginians made another descent

upon Sicily, this time attacking and plundering Agrigentum, one of the finest of the Sicilian cities. This fresh disaster alarmed the Syracusans, who punished the apathy of their generals by deposing them, and appointed new commanders, amongst whom Dionysius was chief. Dionysius, an ambitious man, got rid of his colleagues and became sole commander, after which it was but a step to despotism. Having gained the power, he kept it for thirty-eight years, ruling unscrupulously, but not doing badly for Syracuse on the whole.

The first efforts of Dionysius were directed against Naxos, 397.
Catana and Leontini, and having got these under his rule and fortified Syracuse, he declared war against Carthage. The Carthaginians beset Syracuse by land and sea, and Dionysius, despairing of success was meditating flight, when a plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp and the soldiers died by thousands. This changed the situation to such an extent that the Carthaginian general was glad to make a secret treaty and escape with his Carthaginian troops, leaving his mercenaries to their fate. After this unexpected good fortune Dionysius marched round the island and captured every Carthaginian stronghold except Drepanum and Lilybæum, towns in the extreme west.

Being now well established, Dionysius pushed his conquests 385.
into Southern Italy, where he was so successful, that his power extended far and wide, his ships plundering the coasts of Latium, Etruria and Corsica. He made Syracuse a city of high importance, larger than Athens in area and population. He strengthened its fortifications, built docks and public buildings, and was to Syracuse something like what Pericles had been to Athens. In many ways, however, his influence was malign, for at home he maintained his despotic power by massacre and assassination, and abroad he overturned freedom wherever he found it. His widespread success and oppression alarmed the Greeks, and when he sent envoys to the Olympic games a violent demonstration was made against him, and his name was greeted with shouts of reprobation.

Dionysius affected to patronise literature and philosophy, and Plato, who visited Sicily for the purpose of seeing Mount Etna, was introduced to him by Dion, his brother-in-law. The moral tone of Plato's conversation did not suit the tyrant, who dismissed him and actually arranged that he should be sold as a slave on the way home, though he was speedily ransomed by his friends.

367. Dionysius II. succeeded to his father. He was a young man at his accession, and for a time allowed Dion, his father-in-law, to guide him. Dion was a philosopher, an ardent admirer of Plato, and an advocate of constitutional government. Anxious to influence his son-in-law in the same direction, he persuaded Plato, notwithstanding his former melancholy experiences, to return to Sicily and educate the young king. For a time Dionysius was willing to be advised, but at last he lost patience with his mentors, banished Dion, sent Plato home, and determined to eat, drink and be merry. It was not unnatural; but he carried indulgence too far, and lost the regard of his subjects.

356. Hearing of the king's unpopularity, and having many friends in Syracuse, Dion determined to attack him, and landed suddenly with a force of 800 men. The enterprise was the easier as Dionysius was then in Italy. Dion was hailed as a deliverer, and entered Syracuse without resistance, the partisans of Dionysius retiring into the fort of Ortygia, which stood at the entrance to the harbour.

When Dionysius returned, he tried to recover the city by force; but having been defeated on sea, he sailed away to Italy, after which the citadel was surrendered, and Dion accepted as ruler.

Dion had now a fine opportunity for carrying out his theories concerning constitutional government; but, to the disgust of his friends, he took no steps to put into practice the principles he had advocated, and the people soon saw that they had gained nothing by the change. Accordingly he lost

353. popularity, and was assassinated. Callipus, Hipparinus and

Nysæus followed as tyrants in rapid succession, and then Dionysius II. was restored, but drunken habits unfitted him for the position, and after a time of chaos the Syracusans appealed to Corinth to help them out of their troubles. The Corinthians received the petition favourably, and sent Timoleon, one of their most respected citizens, with an expedition. The 344.
force was really inadequate for the purpose of restoring order, nevertheless Timoleon showed so much wisdom in managing it that the Sicilians rallied round him, and he was extremely successful. Dionysius retired to Corinth, where he spent the rest of his days teaching elocution, whilst Timoleon ruled in Syracuse. Having pacified Syracuse and destroyed the citadel which for many years had been a stronghold of tyranny, Timoleon was proceeding to expel the tyrants from other cities when the Carthaginians suddenly landed at Lilybæum with an immense army. So alarmed were the Syracusans that Timoleon could only persuade 12,000 men to march 340.
against the enemy, and some of these deserted on the route. Nothing daunted, he pressed forward and came upon the Carthaginian army crossing the river Crimesus. The battle was somewhat like that described in the song of Deborah. When half the army had crossed the river a fierce storm arose, beating in the face of the Carthaginians and causing the river to overflow. During the storm Timoleon charged down the hill with a vehemence which could not be withstood. The rout of the vast but disorganised army was total, the slaughter prodigious, the spoil immense. The terrified Carthaginians fled, nor did they rest until reaching Lilybæum they re-embarked and crossed to Africa. After this Timoleon marched from city to city, expelling the despots and establishing free communities with uniform success. Having freed the island, and finding his eyesight failing, he laid down his office but remained in Syracuse as a private citizen, retaining his influence, advising the assembly when matters of importance had to be considered, and dying at last honoured and beloved by all.

The influence of Timoleon's excellent rule was felt for
317. nearly twenty years, after which Agathocles seized the supreme power. He proved a terrible tyrant, massacring and exiling the citizens, and confiscating the property of the wealthy at will. He managed, however, to establish himself firmly, and in a few years nearly the whole of Sicily was under his rule.

310. At length Agathocles was defeated by the Carthaginians and blockaded in Syracuse. He then did a most daring thing. Gathering an army secretly, and evading the Carthaginian fleet, he suddenly crossed to Africa and carried the war into the enemy's country. The Carthaginians were taken by surprise, and his early successes were brilliant; but at length finding his forces insufficient to capture Carthage, and hearing that the Sicilian cities were falling from his rule, he returned to the island, leaving his army in Africa. Having settled matters in Sicily he went back to Africa, but found the army there in such a state that he returned to Syracuse. The soldiers, exasperated by his desertion, slew his sons, whereupon he retaliated by murdering the relatives of the Syracusan officers who were in Africa. In spite of his cruelty he retained his power until his death, and when he died, aged seventy-two, he
289. was planning a new expedition against Carthage. He was a skilful general, but unprincipled and cruel.

After the death of Agathocles the Syracusans, again attacked by Carthage, besought the help of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Pyrrhus came at their entreaty, but ended, as is usual in such cases, by trying to become their master. After
276. he left Sicily, Hiero II., the ruler in Syracuse, had great trouble with the Mamertines, a band of Campanian mercenaries who had seized Messina. In order to operate more successfully against these, he asked the aid of Carthage, and the Mamertines in their turn obtained help from Rome. Hiero was defeated by the Romans and was wise enough to conclude a peace with them and become their ally, so that Syracuse remained peaceful and prosperous during the rest of his reign.

His successor, Hieronymus, foolishly threw up the Roman alliance in exchange for that of Carthage, and the result was fatal. Marcellus attacked Syracuse, and after a siege of two years, during which the renowned Archimedes assisted his fellow citizens greatly by his skill in designing engines of war, the city fell, and was henceforth merged in the Roman 212.
province of Sicily.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA.

MACEDONIA, the country lying north of Thessaly, was mountainous and rugged, and inhabited by an independent and somewhat barbarous people. The Macedonians, though not acknowledged as Greeks, were near akin, resembling them in many ways but behind them in civilisation. Their kings claimed to be of Hellenic race, and the claim was tacitly admitted by their being allowed to take part in the Olympic games. The Macedonian nobility affected Greek customs, used the Greek language at court, adopted Greek names and gave Greek titles to their gods. Thus there was much similarity between the races, but also a considerable difference. The Macedonians lived a rough, out-door life, engaging in hunting and agriculture, and enjoying few of the artistic and literary advantages with which Greece abounded. Politically they had this initial advantage over the Greeks, that they were content to form one state and serve one king, and as they were a hardy people they only needed a brilliant leader to ensure their coming to the front. Now it happened that about the time when Athens, Sparta and Thebes had in turn worn themselves out, and when by the death of Epaminondas and Agesilaus two great chiefs had been lost to Greece, Macedonia had a king who had enjoyed Greek training, and had many advantages over his contemporaries. This was the famous Philip of Macedon whom Pelopidas had carried to Thebes as a hostage when quite a lad, who had there enjoyed the companionship of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, had been well treated and well taught, and had seen the Theban military

system at its best. He was a younger son, but of his elder brothers Alexander was murdered and Perdiccas killed in battle, after which, there being but an infant son left to Perdiccas, Philip was appointed regent and guardian of the 359.
child. He was only twenty-three years of age at this time, and his position was not very assured, for there were two pretenders to the throne and many foreign enemies, but he showed indomitable energy and soon cleared the pretenders out of the way. The most important of the foreign enemies were the Illyrians, in fighting against whom Perdiccas had been killed, but Philip mastered them also, using the tactics which he had learned from Epaminondas with crushing effect. These successes made him popular, and he was chosen as king without further question.

The circumstances of the time gave wide opportunity to an ambitious man, for the Greek states had so weakened themselves by internecine warfare that they were at the mercy of any determined assailant. Sparta, long the acknowledged leader, had fallen upon evil times; Athens, the saviour of Greece, after rising to a high position was now brought low; and Thebes, the hammer that had broken Sparta, after the death of Epaminondas quickly lost her strength. For a time it seemed as if Athens might again lift her head. After the ruin of Sparta, no other power seriously contested with her the supremacy of the Ægean, and had she acted wisely she might once more have led a powerful league. But her citizens had lost the spirit of enterprise and self-sacrifice. Slavery had made great strides in their midst, and their wars were carried on by mercenaries and adventurers who spoiled friend as well as foe. The anger caused by these marauders led to the secession of various members of the confederacy, and what is known as the Social war followed, the results of which so depressed the Athenians that they gave up trying to be great.

Whilst the Social war was in progress, Philip had been busy securing for himself such ancient Athenian possessions

as lay near at hand. He was not only brave but astute and unscrupulous, as clever at a bargain as in war. Being desirous of acquiring a good port on the Ægean, he offered to reconquer Amphipolis for the Athenians if they would give him Pydna.
357. He conquered Amphipolis, received Pydna and kept both. Realising that this would mean a rupture with Athens, he next seized the Athenian city of Potidæa, and presented it to Olynthus in order that the Olynthians might befriend him in the coming struggle. Whilst the Social war was in progress he also conquered the Thracians and founded Philippi, a
356. city which proved of great value, partly as a fortress to keep the Thracians in check, partly because of the development of gold mines in the neighbourhood, from which he ultimately obtained a large revenue. Philip was now rich and able to perfect his military organisation, and he bettered what he had learned from Epaminondas by improvements which made his soldiers invincible. Epaminondas had adopted the method of charging in column instead of in line, but had not altered the weapons of his men, and Greek soldiers everywhere fought with spears which projected six feet. Philip armed his soldiers with spears twenty-one feet long, balanced so as to be held fifteen feet from the point and six feet from the stock. The phalanx or column was in sixteen ranks, three feet apart, so that several rows of sharp spear heads projected in front of the men in the first rank; and when the phalanx charged, the enemy was swept away by the serried mass of steel without getting near enough to the Macedonians to harm them. Against Greeks fighting in the same fashion, but with short spears, the phalanx was invincible, and it was equally fatal to Asiatics. Even amongst the Romans it created a panic at first, but they found out a way of overcoming it. Its weakness lay in this that it could not turn quickly nor work easily in uneven ground, and the Romans found that by choosing their ground, changing their position rapidly, and attacking on the flanks, they could overcome it with javelins and short swords. But before this method of mastering it had been discovered, the

Macedonian phalanx had conquered the Grecian and eastern world.

"The Social War" gave Philip a golden opportunity for consolidating his power in the north, and no sooner was it over than "the Sacred War" opened a door through which he was enabled to enter Greece itself. After the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans had gained control over Phocis, but the Phocians threw off their yoke, and Thebes tried to use the power of the Amphictyonic assembly to crush them. On an absurd pretext of sacrilege, the Phocians were condemned to pay a heavy fine, but being high-spirited they refused, and when threatened seized the temple of Delphi with its treasure 356.
and prepared for a desperate resistance. Philometus led the Phocians, and as the treasure amounted to £2,000,000, he was able to hire mercenaries freely and hold his own for a good while. At last he was defeated and slain, but his brother Onomarchus succeeded him and also held his enemies at bay.

Philip meanwhile had been flourishing in the north and 354.
had captured Methone, the last Athenian port in Macedonia. The road to Thessaly now lay open, and by invitation of the Thessalians he entered their province and marched on Pheræ. As Pheræ was in alliance with Phocis, Onomarchus went to its relief and Philip was driven back. Returning with a 352.
larger army he totally defeated the Phocians, Onomarchus being slain. Philip was now master of Thessaly and he made good his position by placing garrisons in its cities. His easy conquest of Thessaly alarmed the Greeks, for only Thermopylæ now lay between the conqueror and Southern Greece. The Phocians, unable after their great defeat to defend this pass, appealed to Athens for help and the Athenians sent a strong force. The check was effective for the time being. Philip marched south, but when he saw Thermopylæ occupied he returned, nor did he trouble Southern Greece again for five years.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CONQUEST OF GREECE.

352. After Philip had retired from Thermopylæ the Sacred war dragged on as before. The Phocians still kept the Thebans in check, but the Thebans knew that the Delphic treasure would be exhausted some day, and that then the Phocians would not be able to employ mercenaries. Philip also knew that the longer the war lasted the more exhausted the Greeks would become, so he did not interfere further, but bided his time, building forts and consolidating his strength. Soon Illyria, Thessaly and the greater part of Thrace were under his control, and only the Chalcidian Peninsula was needed to round off his dominions in the north. The Olynthians had been of great assistance to him and hoped to be spared, but as his forces began to concentrate on their borders they realised that they were to be devoured like the rest. Accordingly they sent envoys to Athens to ask for help, and the question came before the Assembly for discussion. At this time the leaders in the Athenian Assembly were Phocion and Demosthenes, both able and honest men.

Demosthenes, the famous orator, was born in 382. His father, a manufacturer of arms, died when his son was young, so that Demosthenes was brought up by guardians. These tried to defraud him, and his first speeches were made in connection with law suits brought against them. When he began to speak in the public Assembly his efforts were ridiculed, but he persevered until he became the first orator of his time.

In the days of Demosthenes the Athenians had lost much

of the public spirit for which they had been famous at an earlier date, and there was great lack of political foresight. He was the first to see the danger that threatened from Macedonia, and he delivered oration after oration, striving to arouse the Athenians. His first "Philippic" was delivered when Philip conquered Thessaly; and, when Olynthus sent begging help, he advocated their cause in his "Olynthiac" orations. He was opposed by Phocion and though he prevailed so far as to persuade the Athenians to make alliance with Olynthus, the help they rendered was of a feeble character, and Philip captured town after town in the peninsula until at last Olynthus itself fell to the conqueror. In the Chalcidian Peninsula Philip 348.
destroyed thirty cities in all, treating the inhabitants, amongst whom were many Athenians, with barbarity.

Having thus rounded off his dominions, Philip prepared to again march southward under the pretext of finishing the Sacred war. The danger was perceived by the Athenians, and envoys were sent to the Grecian cities, proposing a combined effort to resist him, but there was no satisfactory response. Philip, as usual, managed his affairs with discretion. Instead of attacking the Athenians he made overtures for peace, and although they had misgivings as to his intentions, they sent commissioners to Pella to treat with him, amongst whom was Demosthenes. Unfortunately several of the men were open to bribery, and the embassy was worse than useless. Demosthenes was not bribed, but rather treated with scant courtesy as an implacable foe. After the return of the commissioners Philip sent three ambassadors to Athens who agreed upon a draft alliance, only needing his ratification to make it complete. Another Athenian embassy was sent to obtain this ratification, but meanwhile Philip marched south- 346.
ward and passed Thermopylæ unopposed, upon which the Phocians gave up the contest and threw themselves upon his mercy. He accordingly occupied Delphi, and called the Amphictyonic Council together to decide what punishment should be inflicted on the Phocians for using the Delphic treasure.

The delegates from the other Greek states would have destroyed them utterly, but Philip was more reasonable, and it was ultimately decided that Phocis should cease to be recognised as a state, that its towns should be broken up into villages, and that its votes in the Assembly should be given to Philip, who thus became a member of the Amphictyonic Council and was appointed a president of the Pythian games. In this way, and without much trouble, he obtained what he coveted. Macedonia was now the leading Greek state and Philip had acquired a fully-recognised standing in connection with Grecian affairs.

The Athenians, who had allowed themselves to be misled by their corrupt ambassadors, and had turned a deaf ear to the appeals of Demosthenes, now saw that the orator had been correct in his judgment as to Philip's intentions, and he rose high in public favour. So chagrined were the Athenians that they would have declared war against Philip then and there, but Demosthenes withheld them, pointing out how necessary it was for Athens to have allies before attacking so formidable an antagonist, and how hard it would be to obtain allies at that time when Philip had all Greece on his side. But though they refrained from declaring war, they rejected overtures for closer friendship, and Philip knew that Athens was his enemy.

Hitherto Philip had not touched Peloponnesus, but now that his position was so well secured in the rest of Greece, he began to interfere in its affairs. Indeed the invitation to interfere came from the states themselves—the oligarchs in Elis appealing to him for help against their fellow citizens. Demosthenes headed an embassy to the states to persuade them to cease their quarrels, and unite against the common
344. enemy, but he pleaded in vain, for first the oligarchs at Elis and then Argos and Messene obtained Macedonian help. Philip was wroth with Demosthenes, and sent remonstrances to Athens, but the Athenians were now alive to the situation and paid no heed to his complaints.

340. At length Philip, pushing his conquest of Thrace, attacked

the Hellenic cities north of the Hellespont, and besieged Perinthus. Perinthus was strong and well fortified, and resisted so effectively that he turned aside to Byzantium. The Athenians were greatly interested in these cities, and moved to action by the stirring harangues of Demosthenes, sent succour of so substantial a character to the Bosphorus that Philip had to abandon the siege—a result which encouraged the Athenians and revived public spirit.

After this check Philip fought against the Scythians and was laid aside for a time by a severe wound. There were, however, many Greeks suborned to look after his interests, amongst whom was Æschines, an Athenian, one of the commissioners who was in Philip's pay. Æschines, who was sent to represent Athens in the Amphictyonic Council, managed 339.
to fasten a quarrel upon Amphissa, a small town near Delphi, and persuaded the council to solicit the interference of Philip. Under pretext, therefore, of carrying out the instructions of the council, Philip marched southward; but instead of troubling himself about Amphissa, he seized Elateia, a town of high strategic importance, commanding the entrance to Bœotia and Attica. This action filled the Athenians with dismay—they believed attack imminent, and prepared for a siege. Demosthenes, pointing out that their hope lay in a Theban alliance, was sent to arrange one, and succeeded so well that the combined forces of Thebes, Athens and Corinth marched against the invader. The decisive battle was fought at Chæronea, 338.
and after an obstinate contest a brilliant cavalry charge led by Alexander, Philip's son, decided the day for Macedonia. Considering the greatness of his victory Philip dealt moderately with the vanquished. The Thebans had to receive a Macedonian garrison, and lost their control over the Bœotian towns, but were otherwise spared. The treatment of the Athenians was yet more mild, for Philip returned their prisoners and only demanded the cession of the Thracian Chersonese and the recognition of his suzerainty.

The reason Philip showed so much moderation in dealing

with the Greek states was that he had a project which he could not well carry out without their help. Accordingly
338. he summoned a congress at Corinth, and when delegates came from most of the cities of Greece he first declared a constitution for Greece, local freedom under Macedonian suzerainty; each city to be bound to Macedonia by a definite treaty of alliance, some to receive garrisons, himself to be commander-in-chief. He then informed them that he intended to make the conquest of Asia and desired to do it as the representative of the Greek confederation. The project aroused a certain amount of enthusiasm; each state was assessed for its share of the required equipment, and a year was set apart for preparation.

But Philip was not destined to conquer Asia. He had raised up foes in his own household by divorcing his wife Olympias, the mother of Alexander, and taking Cleopatra in her stead, and this gave bitter offence; so that, whilst he was walking in procession at his daughter's marriage, he was assassinated.

336. He was forty-seven years of age, and had reigned twenty-four years, during which time he had done great things for Macedonia, for he found it an insignificant strip of territory and left it an empire.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

ALEXANDER, known as "the Great," was twenty years of age 336.
when he ascended the throne. In his boyhood he had Aristotle for his tutor, but at the age of sixteen he was entrusted by his father with active duty, being appointed governor of Macedonia during his absence at the siege of Byzantium. He was in command of the cavalry at Chæronea, and the victory was in no small degree owing to the dash which he displayed. Still, little was known of him at this time; and, when Philip died, the enemies of Macedonia thought the danger had passed away. What they knew of Alexander did not impress them with any exalted notions concerning his ability, for though he was brave, he was headstrong and quarrelsome, and had as yet displayed few of the qualities that make for kingship. Accordingly, at the death of Philip there was a general movement for freedom—the Illyrians, Thracians and Greeks all thinking they might with impunity cast off the Macedonian yoke. The Greeks were speedily undeceived, for within two months of his father's death Alexander marched through Greece into Peloponnesus with so formidable an army that opposition was dumb. Thessaly received him well, Thebes submitted, Athens sent an apology. A congress was held at Corinth, and he was chosen as commander-in-chief of the united forces of the confederation, in succession to his father. 335.
Having settled the affairs of Greece Alexander next marched against the rebellious border tribes. During his absence it was reported that he was dead, and the Thebans, who were greatly averse to the presence of a Macedonian garrison in

their midst, precipitately declared themselves independent, besieged the garrison in the citadel, and appealed to the other cities for help. Had time been given probably many would have responded, but before action could be taken Alexander suddenly appeared in Bœotia at the head of his army. The Thebans fought desperately, but were routed and chased into their city. Street fighting followed; six thousand Thebans were slain, five times as many made prisoners. The allies of Macedonia were invited to pass judgment on the city, and doomed it to destruction, its inhabitants to slavery. The fate of Thebes terrified Greece and there was no more thought of resistance. The Athenians had not openly declared war but had gone very near it, and Alexander demanded the surrender of eight leading citizens, Demosthenes being amongst them. After much intercession he withdrew his demand, but stipulated that two generals, Charidemus and Ephialtes should be exiled; and these leaving Athens, took service with Darius, king of Persia.

334. At last everything being ready for the invasion of Asia, Alexander marched to the Hellespont with an army of 40,000 men. The phalanx and bodyguard were native Macedonians, but there were also 12,000 Greeks and 7,000 Thracians and Illyrians. Besides the ordinary cavalry and infantry there was an artillery service with machines for throwing missiles, chiefly intended for besieging towns, but used by Alexander for the first time in battle also.

Although Alexander's army was small, it was large enough for the work which lay before it. At one time it would have seemed madness for a force of 40,000 to attack the Persian Empire, but the successful retreat of the 10,000 showed that the empire, though vast in extent, was disunited and unwarlike and likely to fall an easy prey to a homogeneous force led by a brilliant general. Such a force was now about to attack it, and such a general, for though the surname "Great" may not be properly applicable to one so deficient in moral qualities as Alexander, yet judged purely as a fighter he showed extraordi-

nary power. His adversaries were for the most part untrained and timid Asiatics, and his success in pitched battles did not of itself prove much, but the rapidity of his movements, the certainty of his judgment, his determination, resourcefulness, and high spirit, show him to have been a general of marked ability. For the rest there is little that can be said in his favour. He had none of the self-abnegation, generosity and nobility of character which have been, fortunately for the world, so often found in military heroes. He was pure barbarian at heart, and did much that cannot be associated in our minds with true greatness. He had a veneer of Greek philosophy and manners, but under the veneer lay the savage.

Darius III. now sat upon the throne of Persia. He was 334.
not in the direct royal line; he had been called to the throne unexpectedly, and he had few qualifications for the position. At the outset of the war he displayed incapacity by allowing Alexander to cross the Hellespont unopposed. There was a Phœnician fleet which could have contested the passage, and as Alexander's fleet was not formidable, they might have contested it successfully. Yet he was permitted to cross at his leisure, and by this blunder the empire was thrown away. After this great error, Memnon, a Rhodian general who was commanding in Darius' army, advised the king not to fight a pitched battle but to retire, defending the mountain passes and cities, and wasting the country so as to make it difficult for Alexander to find supplies, whilst with his powerful fleet he carried the war into Macedonia. The advice was excellent and had it been acted upon complications in Europe might have made it necessary for Alexander to return. But the ignorance and pride of the Persians prevented them from taking Memnon's advice, and they drew up their army on the bank of the river Granicus, determined to contest the passage of a paltry stream, after allowing their enemy to cross the broad Hellespont without let or hindrance.

The Persians fought well, for their nobles had no lack of

courage, but their weapons were useless against the long Macedonian pike, and after Alexander had crossed the river, and could fight on equal ground, the battle was over. The moral effect of this first victory was great. The conqueror had now but to advance, and the cities opened their gates. Miletus and Halicarnassus resisted for a time, the resistance being organised by Memnon who had escaped from the Granicus and might have given Alexander trouble had he lived. Un-
333. fortunately for Persia he died, and after his death Darius fell back upon the fatal policy of pitched battles.

Meanwhile Alexander went round Asia Minor, subduing the cities and meeting with little resistance in a country which abounded in difficult passes and might have been made almost impossible for an invader. Darius, on the other hand, concentrated the forces of the empire in the plains of Northern Syria, gathering a vast army well fitted to do battle with Asiatics; but, against the Macedonian phalanx, merely sheep for the slaughter.

Alexander came rapidly on, traversing the passes of Mount Taurus, and expecting to meet Darius on the plains of Syria where his army had been collected. Having neglected to hold the passes, the next best thing for Darius to do was to await Alexander on the plain where the Persian cavalry would have a chance of manœuvring, but instead of doing this Darius abandoned his vantage-ground and marched to Issus where in a narrow and rugged valley his cavalry were useless and his numbers gave him no advantage. The result was the utter rout of the Persians, of whom 30,000 were slain. Darius escaped across the Euphrates, but his camp was captured. His family also fell into the hands of the conqueror, by whom they were retained as hostages.

Alexander had now to choose whether he should pursue Darius, or turn southward into Phœnicia and Egypt and conquer the coast provinces before plunging into the interior. He wisely chose the latter course, and for a time met with uniform success and little opposition, many cities such as

Damascus and Sidon surrendering without a blow. The inhabitants of Tyre were also willing to submit; but when Alexander insisted on entering the city, the Tyrians, fearing he would garrison it, refused to admit him. The city was built on an island, was well fortified, had an excellent fleet, and was famous for withstanding long sieges, so that the confidence of the people is not to be wondered at. As Alexander had no fleet, he built a mole across the channel, but met with so desperate a resistance in the work that he had to impress the fleets of Cyprus and Sidon before he could reach the walls of the city. At last the mole was finished, and after a seven months' siege Tyre was taken by assault. 332.

Whilst the siege of Tyre was in progress, ambassadors came from Darius to propose conditions of peace, offering 10,000 talents and all the empire west of the Euphrates if Alexander would leave him the rest. When Alexander refused, Darius perceived that no reasonable terms would be accepted, and determined to make one more effort to save his empire.

Alexander had now marched southward to Egypt. On his way he passed Gaza, a city which, undeterred by the fate of Tyre, held out bravely for three or four months. This obstinacy exasperated Alexander, and after the capture of the city he dragged Batis the brave governor behind his chariot until he was dead.

After the fall of Gaza, opposition in that quarter ceased. Egypt hailed the conqueror as a deliverer from the hateful rule of Persia, and the Jews paid him homage. During his residence in Egypt Alexander made a pilgrimage to the famous temple of Jupiter Amon where the priests hailed him as more than mortal, and he was foolish enough to believe them.

Having mastered the seaboard, and there being now no hostile fleet on the Ægean, Alexander fearlessly marched to seek Darius in the very heart of his empire. After crossing the Euphrates and Tigris he found the king at Arbela with another vast army. This time Darius resolved to fight on the

plain, and his troops did better than at Issus. But the result was the same. King and army were soon in headlong flight and the Persian empire was at an end.

331. Alexander entered Babylon in triumph. Like the Egyptians, the Babylonians had not taken kindly to their conquerors, and made no difficulty about accepting him in their place. After a month's rest the army marched towards Susa, which at once surrendered. There Alexander obtained immense treasure, and from thence he marched to Persepolis, a city of great splendour which he gave up to pillage and destruction. He then started in earnest after Darius, who fled with a handful of followers from Ecbatana eastward by the Caspian towards Bactria. Alexander followed with such rapidity that the wretched fugitive's spirit was broken and he would fly no farther. Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, a noble of royal blood who aspired to the throne, ordered his followers to slay the king. Accordingly they flung their javelins at him and fled; and when Alexander came up, shortly afterwards, he found that death had robbed him of his prize.

330, The conquerer now set himself to subjugate the outlying provinces of the empire. First he reduced the tribes near the Caspian; then marched east and south through Persia and Afghanistan; then north into Bokhara. He is said to have founded the cities of Herat, Candahar and Cabul. Bessus, who had intended to show fight in his province of Bactria, was betrayed into the hands of his enemy, and put to death with barbarity.

Whilst staying in Drangina, Alexander tortured and executed Philotas, the son of his leading general Parmenio, whom he had left as governor of Ecbatana. The pretext was conspiracy; the real reason was that Philotas had ridiculed the idea of his supernatural birth, and had declared that he owed much of his success to the exertions of his father and himself. Having killed the son, Alexander dared not leave the father alive, and had him assassinated.

Somewhat later Alexander had another opportunity of 328.
showing his ungovernable spirit. Whilst banqueting with his officers, some of whom in Asiatic fashion were using fulsome flattery, Clitus, one of his greatest friends, upbraided them and spoke some very plain words on the subject. When Alexander became angry with him for his candour, Clitus said, "Recollect that you owe your life to me; this hand preserved you at the Granicus, listen to truth, or else abstain from asking free men to supper, and confine yourself to the society of slaves". Alexander, who like the rest was half drunk, sprang from his seat and transfixed him with a javelin. It was well said that his marches were fatal to his enemies, his halts fatal to his friends.

The character of the conqueror rapidly deteriorated under the influence of prosperity. He put on the style of an Oriental monarch, started a harem in which his chief wife was Roxana, daughter of a Bactrian nobleman, dressed as an Oriental, levied Oriental troops, and surrounded himself with Oriental courtiers whose obsequiousness was more to his taste than the plain speech of his European generals.

Having reduced Asia northward as far as the Jaxartes, he 327.
determined to invade India. He crossed the Indus and the Jelum, and advanced as far as the Sutlej, but this river his soldiers flatly refused to cross so that he had to return to the Jelum. Determined to explore it to its mouth, he divided his forces into three parts, two portions marching along the banks whilst the third portion sailed down the river. After a nine months' voyage they reached the Indian Ocean. Alexander now turned his face towards Babylon and divided his army into three parts, the main body taking the regular caravan road through Candahar, Nearchus proceeding with another section to Babylon by sea, whilst Alexander himself sought a new route through the deserts of Beloochistan. His section of the army suffered terribly from want of food and water, but at last the survivors reached Persepolis, and proceeding from thence to Susa, he gave himself and his army a complete rest.

325. At Susa there was much festivity, and the king became increasingly Oriental in his habits, trying to introduce many innovations amongst his European soldiers in spite of growing discontent. The discontent broke into open mutiny at Opis; and though a reconciliation was effected, 10,000 veterans were sent back to Europe.

Alexander evidently aimed at Hellenising the Persian empire. He had no intention of returning to the hard life and poor fare of Macedonia; he meant Babylon to be his capital, and desired to weld the Greek and Oriental world. He did not realise how greatly physical energy was a question of climate, and how soon the Macedonians had they continued to reside in Asia would have lost the qualities which made them conquerors. Apparently he had no intention of interfering with Persian methods of government, for the Macedonians were accustomed to despotic rule, and Alexander doubtless considered Persian centralisation greatly superior to Greek autonomy.

His mind being still bent on conquest, he determined on an expedition against Arabia, and ordered a fleet to be prepared for that purpose.

On his way from Susa to Babylon he was met by embassies from many states offering congratulations—Carthage, Rome, Ethiopia, Scythia and Gaul amongst the rest. Whilst waiting at Babylon and almost on the point of starting for the Arabian expedition, he spent some time exploring the delta and planning harbours and canals, and in the midst of this useful work caught malarial fever. He neglected it, or apparently tried to master it by hard drinking, but it increased, and on the eleventh day
323. he died. When the soldiers heard that he was dying they pressed into the palace, and many of them were allowed to file past his death-bed. He was too far gone to speak, but indicated his knowledge of their presence by moving his hand. He was only thirty-two years of age when he died, and his stirring reign had lasted for but thirteen years.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE END OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

THE sudden death of the conqueror seemed certain to be 323.
followed by confusion, for there was no one ready to succeed him, and his generals were masterful men—each likely to push his own claim. Councils were, however, at once held, and after much debate an arrangement was come to which preserved the peace for a time. The king left no legitimate offspring, though a posthumous son was afterwards born to him by Roxana. His half-brother Aridæus was in the camp and although not a man of much ability he was nominated king for the time being, the rights of Roxana's child being protected. The satrapies were then divided amongst twelve generals—Egypt falling to Ptolemy, Syria to Laomedon, Cilicia to Philotas, Pamphylia, Lycia and Phrygia to Antigonus, Caria to Asander, Lydia to Menander, Hellespontine Phrygia to Leonnatus, Cappadocia to Eumenes, Media to Pithon, Thrace to Lysimachus, Macedonia and Greece to Antipater and Craterus jointly. All of these were, in theory, to administer under Aridæus, Perdiccas being made his prime minister and guardian of the infant child of Roxana.

The body of the conqueror was embalmed and carried on a funeral car of great magnificence from Babylon to Egypt for burial.

It would be profitless to follow the intrigues of the next few years. Suffice it to say that after many wars and much assassination the empire became divided into three principal kingdoms, Asia, Egypt and Macedonia.

Asia fell under the power of the descendants of Seleucus,

one of Alexander's generals whose name does not appear in the original scheme of distribution. The kings were not strong enough to keep their kingdoms entire; the Jews, the Parthians and others became independent states, whilst some of the islands formed themselves into a maritime league. At length only Syria was left to the Seleucidæ, their capital being
63. Antioch, and after varied fortunes their dominions were absorbed into the Roman empire.

Egypt fell to Ptolemy, a favourite general, and some think the half-brother of Alexander. The Ptolemies ruled Egypt for three centuries, and the first three kings of the dynasty were the best rulers Egypt ever had. Under them Alexandria prospered, and as a centre of learning took in some measure the place of Athens, though nothing was ever written in Alexandria to compare with the works of the Athenians. The last of the dynasty was the famous Cleopatra, with whose
30. death the great line came to an end, and Egypt became a Roman province.

The European section of the empire had fallen to Antipater and Craterus, and when they died there was a contest for the succession in the course of which Roxana, the widow of Alexander, his posthumous son Alexander, Olympias his mother, Philip his half-brother, and Eurydice the wife of Philip were all slain, so that at last no representative of the family was left alive. There were afterwards various contests for the crown in Macedonia, and at one time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whose name has already been mentioned in connection with Sicily, united the kingdoms of Epirus and Macedon. Pyrrhus was an able general who resembled Alexander in some points, but lacked his power of concentration and in the end achieved little.

289. In the third century Macedonia suffered from Celtic invasions. The first was under Belgius who ravaged far and
278. wide. The second was under Brennus who got through Thermopylæ and as far as Delphi, where he sustained a crushing defeat, his army being broken into bands, of

which some crossed into Asia and formed the province of Galatia.

After the death of Pyrrhus and the defeat of the Celts 272.
Macedonia became more settled, and the dynasty founded by Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals, held the throne. Philip, one of the members of this dynasty, was king at the time of the second war between Rome and Carthage, and even made alliance with Hannibal, but was attacked by the 197.
Romans and defeated at Cynoscephalæ after which Macedonia ceased to have any control over the Greek states.

Later, when Perseus was king of Macedonia, there was 171.
again war with Rome. Perseus fought well for a time, but was at last overthrown at Pydna, and the last king of 168.
Macedonia was led in a Roman triumph. A few years later 146.
Macedonia with the rest of Greece became a Roman province.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FATE OF SOUTHERN GREECE.

334. When Alexander embarked on his career of Asiatic conquest, he had professed to be leader of united Greece, and commander-in-chief of the forces of the confederation. In spite of this there were few southern Greeks who wished him well; and had Darius been far-seeing enough to work upon that sentiment, he could have made Alexander's task in Asia doubly hard. Many of the Greeks believed that he would be beaten in Asia, but after the battles of Issus and Arbela all hope of that passed away. Sparta, indeed, had never yielded to the pretensions of Macedonia. Her delegates had not attended the congresses; and, even after Arbela, King Agis raised a revolt in Peloponnesus against the Macedonians, but was defeated by Antipater and slain.

During this period the tone at Athens had been pacific. Phocion, whose sympathies were Macedonian, led the Assembly,
324. and Demosthenes, who opposed him, was exiled for a time. The death of Alexander produced a great effect; and in spite of the remonstrances of Phocion, an anti-Macedonian confederacy was formed, and Demosthenes recalled. It is not necessary to blame Athens for this, for the time seemed ripe for revolt. Nevertheless it would have been better had she waited. At first the confederate army was successful, but it was defeated in the end and Athens lay at the mercy of Antipater. He pardoned the citizens generally, but demanded the surrender of certain leaders, amongst whom was Demosthenes. They fled, but Antipater hunted them down, and one by one they were captured and cruelly slain. Demosthenes escaped

to the island of Calauria, and when tracked by his enemies took refuge in the temple of Poseidon. Finding that sanctuary would not avail, and rather than suffer the degradation Antipater would have heaped upon him, the great orator took 322. poison and died. Demosthenes was a sincere man and an earnest patriot, and had Athens listened to his advice at the beginning its history might have been different, for he saw the danger looming from Macedonia before it became too great to be turned away. At a later period, when the mischief was done, he would have better consulted the interest of Athens had he accepted the inevitable.

After the death of Demosthenes Phocion led in Athens. He had strong Macedonian leanings, and had been a consistent opponent of Demosthenes, but he was an upright man and acted generally in the interests of peace. To one who tauntingly asked him when it would be wise for Athenians to go to war, he said, "When the young are willing to keep their ranks, the rich to contribute of their wealth, and the orators to abstain from pilfering the public money". At length, at the age of eighty-five, he was overtaken by the common lot of the 317. public men of that time, being impeached and executed.

For half a century after this there was much confusion in Greece, the cities being mostly ruled by despots nominated by Macedonia. An effort was made to get rid of the despots, and 250. two leagues grew up, the Achæan and the Ætolian, by means of which something like freedom was restored to Southern Greece. The Achæan league was a revival of an ancient one and was joined by Athens, Ægina, and many Peloponnesian cities. Sparta as usual held aloof, but her power had waned. 240. At one time a young king Agis IV. made an attempt to reform the state by giving the poor a share in the lands, but he was killed for his pains. Cleomenes, his successor, carried on his methods, and Sparta revived for a time, and even fought successfully against the Achæan league, but at last Cleomenes was defeated at the battle of Sellasia, and Sparta itself captured, 221. after which it fell into insignificance.

The Ætolian league was formed amongst the less-cultured states north of the Gulf of Corinth, and embraced the Phocians, Locrians and Bœotians, so that Greece was in great measure divided between the Achæan and Ætolian leagues. Unfortunately the leagues were not content with resisting foreign foes, but must needs in true Greek fashion quarrel amongst themselves. The Macedonians had constituted themselves protectors of the Achæan league, but when Philip V. ascended the throne of Macedonia at the age of seventeen the Ætolians thought they might attack the Achæans with impunity. Philip, however, came to the rescue; and young though he was, defeated the Ætolians. His conduct of this war gained him reputation and so inflamed his ambition that
216. he tampered with Hannibal and the Carthaginians and possibly even contemplated an invasion of Italy, but his schemes were
197. abruptly overthrown at Cynoscephalæ. From this time the Romans began to interfere more in the affairs of Greece, and were appealed to by the various states.

At length Sparta was attacked by the Achæan League, and sought the help of Rome. Commissioners went across but were badly received, so Rome declared war and sent an army under Mummius which overthrew the forces of the league near Corinth. This city itself was captured and destroyed with most of its priceless treasures and works of art. After this act of vandalism Mummius subjugated the
146. whole of Greece, and it was absorbed into the Roman empire, being thenceforward officially known as Achaia, thus commemorating the name of the league identified with the last Greek struggle for political freedom. Macedonia was finally made a Roman province the same year.

Although much has to be recorded in connection with Greek history which is unsatisfactory, we can hardly overestimate the obligation which the civilised world is under to Greece. The disunion of the Greeks was their ruin, but this very disunion arose in part from excess of mental activity and a spirit of independence, which, though fatal to combined

effort, helped them to do service to the world in many ways. When we read their political history we lose patience with them; but when we consider their writings and works of art, we can see how great they really were. Nor is it only in the fields of literature and art that the world is under obligation to Greece. The early colonising enterprise of the Greeks and the conquests of Alexander in later years had a wide influence on civilisation. In innumerable cities both in Europe and Asia, the Greek language was spoken, Greek books were read, and Greek customs prevailed. Thus many civilising influences were set on foot, the effect of which the world has not even yet ceased to feel. Finally, the remarkable way in which the Greek language spread throughout Western Asia, Eastern Europe and Palestine, led to its being used as the channel through which there was distributed to humanity the greatest civilising influence of all—the gospel of the grace of God.

ROME.

ROMAN EMPIRE
AT DEATH OF
AUGUSTUS

ROME.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CITY.

THE lovely peninsula which stretches from the centre of Europe into the Mediterranean, and which we now call Italy, seems to have been colonised later than many other parts of Europe. Its northern frontier is well guarded by lofty mountain ranges; and the primitive tribes, as they spread from Asia across Europe, knowing nothing of the beautiful land beyond the snow-clad mountains, passed it by for a time. Nor was Italy much more accessible by sea in those days. The great traders of the early world were the Phœnicians, who from their ports on the shores of Canaan sent forth ships beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, more than a thousand years before our era. But the ships were of small size and coasted as much as they could, and although Italy was not far from Phœnicia as the crow flies, their sailors would have had to coast a prodigious distance before reaching it. Thus although they soon became acquainted with Greece and the islands of the Ægean, and had numerous settlements along the coast of Northern Africa, they did not get to know much of Italy until they had built Utica and Carthage, from which cities the peninsula could be easily approached. For these reasons therefore it happens that Italy is, comparatively speaking, a modern country and remarkable for its lack of very ancient relics, and that Rome is the last unit in the cycle of ancient history.

The Italy with which the early history of Rome is concerned, did not comprise the whole peninsula but was bounded on the north by the Apennines ; and the territory between the Apennines and the Alps traversed by the River Po, now known as Lombardy and formerly as Gallia Cisalpina, was not added to the Roman dominion until many centuries after the founding of the city.

Of the tribes which settled south of the Apennines, the Etruscans, Latins and Sabines were the most important. The Etruscans occupied the west coast, between the Apennines and the Tiber ; the Latins were on the same coast, south of the Tiber ; whilst the Sabines dwelt in the mountainous districts of Central Italy. The Sabines were the same kind of people as the Latins, and, under favourable circumstances, mixed easily with them ; but the Etruscans were a different race and remained a foreign people to the end. The Etruscans are a puzzle to historians, who are not even yet sure of their origin. They were a powerful nation when Rome was in its infancy ; they gave to the city her three last kings ; and some of the best pieces of work done for Rome in her early days bear signs of Etruscan origin. Had they been more united they could have absorbed Latium, but they remained a loose confederacy making little concentrated effort. They were pirates and raiders ; but the raiding was done by chiefs who fought each for his own hand, and not with a view to extending the national territory. On the sea they were at home, whether as merchants or corsairs. They entered at times into treaty with the Carthaginians, and the two powers between them did all they could to check Greek colonial expansion in the Western Mediterranean. In early times the Etruscans dominated Northern Italy, but their power was steadily encroached on by the pressure of the Celtic race in the north, and the growing power of Rome in the south. They died hard however. The last Roman kings, and the only ones of historical consequence were Etruscan chiefs. These were expelled, and Etruscan influence was never afterwards much felt

in Rome; but the race remained foreign and hostile, nor was there any lasting peace until it had lost its national identity.

The Sabines were a hardy highland race, brave and honourable, and after the decline of the Etruscan power they were for a time the greatest people in Italy. The Sabines were migratory in their habits, and many of the smaller tribes the Marsi, Vestini, Hirpini, Frentani and others were offshoots from them. But the greatest offshoot of all was the Samnite. The Samnites settled in Central Italy towards the south, and were the most formidable enemies the Romans had to encounter in Italy, fighting for freedom with extraordinary tenacity. Even as late as 82 B.C. a Samnite army, 40,000 strong, marched upon Rome, but was defeated by Sulla, after which the Samnite towns were laid waste, their inhabitants sold as slaves, and their places filled by Roman colonists.

There were many Greek settlements in Italy, and some of them developed into important cities. The Greeks were ardent colonisers, and soon found out the advantages which Italy possessed; and, as the peninsula was within easy sailing distance, frequent immigrations took place. Amongst the cities founded were: Sybaris, at one time the largest city in Italy; Tarentum, an important city with widely extended commerce; Neapolis, Cumæ, Locri, Rhegium and many others. So firm a footing did the Greeks obtain in Southern Italy that it was called Magna Græcia; and when Rome was yet feeble the Greeks were already a power in Italy and were competing with the Etruscans and Carthaginians for the sovereignty of the Western Mediterranean. Latium, that part of Italy with which we are more immediately concerned, was a territory of small extent, bounded on the north by the Tiber, on the east by the Apennines, on the south by Campania, on the west by the Mediterranean, but as conquests extended, the name Latin was used to denote others besides the old Latins of Latium. The latter were a thriving agricultural people and are said to have formed a confederacy of thirty cities of which Alba

Longa was the chief. Alba Longa was situated in the north of Latium, due west from the place where Rome was eventually built; and, as it stretched along the side of a lake, its name probably testified to its appearance, "the long white town". Although it was probably the largest town and the federal centre, there is no reason to believe that it exercised any special control over the rest; each community was independent, but kinship, and the need to defend themselves against common enemies drew them together.

This, then, was the condition of Italy seven or eight centuries before the Christian era, at the time when we speak of Rome as having been founded. And now passing to the city itself, it is to be remembered that at one period in its history (390 B.C.) it was burnt to the ground by the Gauls, the Capitol only being saved, and that in the conflagration such documents as may have existed were destroyed. The early period therefore presents great difficulty to historians, nevertheless by careful sifting of tradition, and patient comparison and inference, a history of Rome has been built up which in its main outlines is probably not far from the truth.

In order to get a fair start with Roman history we must divest our minds of much which is manifestly fabulous. As regards the foundation of the city for instance, concerning which we have such a circumstantial account, we may assume that in the ordinary meaning of the term it was never founded at all. It is, generally speaking, absurd to talk of the foundation of a city. Doubtless a few cities have been built by kings who thought thereby to perpetuate their names, but these were mostly unnatural productions which soon came to nought. Cities that have lasted and become great have not been founded but have grown. Kings may have extended them, and beautified them, and given them new names, but they grew up because they were needed. We must therefore dismiss from our minds the tales about Æneas and the Trojans, about Romulus, Remus and the like. These stories

are based on the assumption that far-seeing men designed the city before it came into being. This rarely happens. Who ever thought of London when men threw their nets into the Thames and found the place handy for fishing, or of New York when a few Dutchmen built their log huts at the mouth of the Hudson? These cities were not founded, they grew up of themselves. With the tradition of Romulus must also be dismissed the legend that the Etruscans, Sabines and Latins came together and determined to found a city, or again that Rome was founded by a colony from Alba. All these theories assume that Rome as a city was in contemplation from the beginning, and we may be sure that this was not so.

Rome probably came into being in very simple fashion. First a few fishermen settled there. The place was not healthy, but it had advantages. The marshes made a splendid fishing-ground, and the fishermen found that by living on the low hills they could escape malaria and protect themselves against enemies. Then it was doubtless found that the spot was handy as a market, where the folk from the neighbouring villages could meet and barter wares. Then the advantage of being near the mouth of the Tiber and yet far enough up to be safe from pirates was felt, and so the huts became a village, and the village a town, and the town a mighty city which gained first the sovereignty of Italy, and thereafter the empire of the world.

Where Rome was built, the Tiber flows north and south, and Rome stands on the eastern bank. It was built on low hills, which became known respectively as the Palatine, Capitoline, Quirinal, Cœlian, Aventine, Esquiline and Viminal. Tradition states, and it is reasonable to believe, that each of these hills had in early times its own separate settlement, protected by a rude fortification, and that these settlements were slowly fused into a single city which was called Rome, not from Romulus, but possibly from the ancient name of the Tiber, which was "Rumon".

Tradition also tells that the peoples who thus united were

of three races, the Etruscan, the Sabine and the Latin. There is no evidence to justify the contention that any Tuscan element entered into the formation of Rome, but it is quite likely that one of the settlements on the hills was Sabine. The Sabines were nearly related to the Latins, and mingled easily, and the tradition that Sabine invaders held the Quirinal Hill, and united with the rest, is likely enough to be correct. But they left no distinctive trace in Roman development, which is a Latin development, pure and simple.

Tradition has it also that the Roman people were formed out of a union of three tribes or cantons, the Ramnes, Tities and Luceres ; of whom the Tities are said to have been
753. of Sabine origin. The date popularly fixed for the foundation of the city is 753 B.C., and as the oldest tombs in Rome seem to belong to the eighth century the date is near enough for practical purposes.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT THE ROMANS WERE LIKE.

THE early Romans were men much like ourselves—a hard-working, practical people. It is well to realise this, for when we fancy that the ancients moved in stilted fashion like actors on a stage, we lose much of the teaching of history. The early Romans were just folk like ourselves, sore put to it at times to make an honest living, and though many of their customs differed from ours, they had also many things in common.

Their legal conceptions were simple, but correct, and as the city developed, Roman law also developed on such lines that it has lived to the present day, and is the basis of law in Scotland, France and other countries. For law the Romans had a great respect, and though their system was severe and inelastic, yet the binding nature of contract, the sanctity of property, and other principles, essential to civilisation, were clearly laid down.

On religious matters they were of course greatly in the dark, yet we must not think that they were all without God, or that the "light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" failed to shine in Rome. At first they were not image-worshippers, but they believed in many gods, and every action of life or incident of nature had its presiding deity. Their religion was of a practical and utilitarian order: lacking the artistic and poetic elements so developed amongst the Greeks. To the Roman, the gods were beings to be propitiated, agents for the attainment of earthly rather than spiritual ends; and thus viewed, religion sank with them to a low level

and became little better than "a dreary round of ceremonies". The principal Roman gods represented abstract ideas: Jupiter was the ideal of manhood, Juno of womanhood, Mars of war-like force, Ceres of production, Venus of beauty, and so on. At first images were discouraged and even temples were not essential, but as time went on their ideas found expression in images and they built temples like the rest. Like most idolaters they were tolerant of the gods of others, recognising them as only less important than their own; and when they conquered a city they added its patron deity to their Pantheon, believing that in this way they increased their strength. For a similar reason they were careful not to pronounce the name of the tutelary spirit of their own community, lest an enemy hearing it might try to entice away their god.

In matters relating to the family, the Roman laws and customs were very peculiar, and were based upon the usages of patriarchal times. In those days families did not scatter as they now do, but lived together from generation to generation, the oldest male ancestor being reverenced by the rest and treated as supreme within the household. This was the general method amongst the ancients, but no other nation carried out the idea with the logical severity which obtained at Rome. There the male ancestor, father or grandfather as the case might be, was supreme over his descendants both as regarded property and person. In early times he might kill a child if he chose—there was no law against it; and though public opinion prevented it, except in extreme cases, the story of Virginia shows that the act was not impossible. The head or paterfamilias had also power over the property of the rest. Everything was vested in him, nor could the younger members of the family claim even their earnings. Viewed from a modern standpoint this seems strange enough, but where families lived in patriarchal fashion it prevented discord, and amounted to little more than this, that all goods were held in common, and that the paterfamilias was trustee for the rest. Nor was the arrangement so onesided as it seemed, for if the

descendant had less independence he had more security. If he were turned out of the family, either at his request or for gross misconduct, he doubtless gained independence, but he lost his share of the inheritance. As time went on, however, these laws were found unworkable, and sons were gradually allowed to possess property of their own, so that their condition became more like what it would be in modern times.

About the time when Rome became big enough to need municipal government it consisted of districts where families were still living in this clannish way, and the members of the clans and their descendants were the first custodians of political power. But as Rome enlarged and other settlers came who were not members of these "first families," difficulties arose, for the new settlers were not considered Roman citizens, the patricians, as the "first families" were called, pretending that they were better than the rest, and had a sacred, hereditary right to rule the city. The later arrivals were called plebeians, that is the multitude, in opposition to the patricians, and as we go on we shall find that the history of Rome, so far as home affairs are concerned, is for many years the history of a contest between patricians and plebeians, that is, between the privileged and the non-privileged classes.

CHAPTER III.

THE MONARCHY.

753. THE first two and a half centuries of Roman history are reckoned the period of the monarchy, and there are said to have been seven kings in that time, though probably there were many more. Of the seven whose names are generally mentioned in Roman histories, the first four, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, cannot be looked upon as historic characters. Nevertheless, from the nature of the traditions we may infer that Rome was governed by kings in early times, and that they had often to defend themselves against their warlike neighbours. At this time Roman territory was not extensive—it stretched in a landward direction from the city only about five miles, but seaward it extended fifteen miles, as far as the mouth of the Tiber, where Ostia, the port of Rome, was built.

616. The three kings remaining out of the seven may be considered historical. These kings, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus, were not Latins, but Etruscans. It does not follow from this that Rome was under the dominion of Etruria. The Etruscans were at this time powerful, and had sway in the plains of Lombardy as well as in their own special region of the peninsula, but there is no evidence that Etruria ever dominated Rome. Ambitious Etruscan chiefs were given to raiding, and where they conquered they ruled, and this may have happened in Rome. But it does not necessarily follow that Tarquin gained his position by force of arms, for there was a tradition that he was guardian to the children of the former king, and was elected his

successor by the people. But in whatever way the Etruscan kings gained the throne, whether by election or by the strong right arm, they proved useful rulers.

The Etruscans seem to have been much in advance of the Romans in art, manufacture and engineering, and the rule of the Etruscan kings contrasted brilliantly with that of their predecessors. Rome was built on low hills jutting into level and marshy meadows through which the Tiber flowed. The hills were first built upon, but as the population increased it became necessary to utilise all available space, and the draining of the low-lying marshy ground became a matter of importance. The Etruscan kings faced the difficulty, beginning a system of main drainage which was restored and extended at a later period, and was so well constructed that it has helped to drain the lower parts of the city from that day to this. On a portion of the ground thus reclaimed, the Forum and Circus were built, whilst on the Capitoline Mount a massive temple was erected.

During the Etruscan period the city was surrounded by a rampart known as the Servian Wall, the building of which is attributed to Servius Tullius, the second of the kings. Up to this time there had been rivalry between the dwellers on the several mounts. The people who lived on the Quirinal were called "Hill Romans," and those on the Palatine "Mount Romans"; and each mount kept up a degree of independence. But after the Servian Wall was built they became more united, so that the building of the Servian Wall may be looked upon as the starting-point of the Rome of our imagination.

It is most probable that Rome advanced commercially under Etruscan rule. Though the Romans were in early times essentially an agricultural community, yet, as the emporium for Latium, the city must have had many articles to give in exchange for manufactured products, and doubtless traded largely in grain, wine, raisins, olives, copper, silver, iron timber and salt.

The Etruscan kings carried out various important reforms. Rome had been dominated by the patricians, who monopolised

the offices of state and were supreme in Senate, Assembly and army. The first great reform attributed to Servius Tullius, had reference to the army. The early rule had been that each tribe should contribute 1,000 men to the infantry and 100 to the cavalry. This number had become too small for the growing state, and Tarquinius Priscus, the first of the Etruscan kings, after vainly endeavouring to persuade the patricians to increase the number of tribes, doubled the strength of the army without altering the tribal arrangement. Now, however, that conquest and immigration had increased the size of the community, this plan of raising the army had become antiquated, and Servius Tullius made property the basis of service, included all land-holders under Roman jurisdiction, and classified them according to their means.

In the first class were the rich, who could afford to buy heavy armour, and had therefore the distinction of standing in the front ranks of the army and bearing the brunt of the attack. The second class were armed less heavily, the third yet less, but these were all reckoned "heavy infantry". Behind them stood the fourth and fifth classes, who served as light-armed troops. The cavalry was also increased, but it retained its tribal character, and being recruited from the wealthiest class it remained the *élite* section of the army. By this arrangement the force was so increased that Servius Tullius could muster 80,000 men, each bearing arms according to his means, men similarly armed drilling together and serving in centuries, that is, companies of 100 men.

The new method of levying the army became the basis of a new assembly, the "Comitia Centuriata". Hitherto the citizens had been divided into "curiæ," each curia composed of kinsmen and neighbours, and had met in an assembly called the "Comitia Curiata" and voted by their curiæ, the vote of each curia being decided by the majority, and a majority of the curiæ settling the question. The Comitia Centuriata which did not supersede the Comitia Curiata, but cast it into the shade, included all freeholders, and by its method of voting

gave a preponderating influence to wealth. At the same time the Senate was strengthened by the addition of 100 members, chosen from the leading families of the Latin states, recently conquered and absorbed by Rome.

As the early tribal division did not lend itself to these new arrangements, Servius divided the people into four wards, the names of which, Palatina, Esquilina, Suburana and Collina were taken from the divisions of the city, though they included also the districts outside Rome. As these divisions were determined by locality they embraced all within their boundaries, whereas the tribal divisions based upon relationship had made no provision for new-comers.

The popularity of Servius Tullius at last began to wane. His public works, though beneficial, had been costly, and his reforms raised up enemies. The aristocracy had been benefited materially by the wider distribution of burdens which had formerly fallen exclusively upon their shoulders, but they had been depressed socially, for the Etruscan kings, after the manner of alien monarchs, had paid little attention to their wishes, and had not hesitated to favour men who did not belong to the first families, if only they thought they would be useful servants. This raised the wrath of the patricians, and Servius Tullius was assassinated and succeeded by Tarquin the Second, surnamed "the proud".

Tarquinius Superbus was a tyrant whose hand lay heavily upon all classes, but he was a great warrior, and his rule extended widely over Latium. He also conquered the Volscians, and established Roman colonies amongst the vanquished in order to keep them in subjection. During his reign, therefore, Rome became more powerful, but he made enemies at home; and, whilst absent besieging Ardea, he was deposed, and the monarchy abolished, apparently by general consent.

On receiving the news of his deposition, Tarquin set out for Rome with picked troops, but finding that the gates were shut against him, and that the revolution was serious, he retired to Cære in Etruria.

We are told that three attempts were made by him to recover his throne. First he marched upon Rome at the head of the men of Veii and Tarquinii, and fought a fierce battle on the frontier, but was defeated. A year later, it is said that Lars Porsena, the overlord of Etruria, took up his cause, reached the very gates of Rome, and besieged the city. It is in connection with this advance that the story of the keeping of the bridge by Horatius is told. Very likely the Etruscans did advance on Rome, and it is even probable that the Romans were seriously defeated; but it is more doubtful whether the advance was on Tarquin's behalf, else Lars Porsena would have carried out his object and restored him. Tarquin's final effort was made in alliance with his son-in-law Mamilius, prince of Tusculum; but in the battle of Lake Regillus the Romans were victorious, and Tarquin finally withdrew from the contest.

This is something like the history of the early period, so far as we can judge, but we are not very certain about it. What we do know is that a city arose in Latium, on the banks of the Tiber; that it grew in importance until it became the chief city in Latium; that it was first ruled by its own elected kings, and then fell under the power of Etruscan princes, who ruled despotically, but extended the influence of the city abroad, and carried out reforms at home; and that the tyranny of these alien monarchs and perhaps, most of all, the fact that they were aliens, brought about a revolution, which ended in the emancipation of Rome from their rule, and the downfall of the monarchy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ORDERS.

THE discontent which had led to the abolition of the monarchy 509.
was shared both by patricians and plebeians; but the patricians gained most by the revolution in the first instance. It had been of a conservative character; the Romans did not object to strict government, but a life tenure of kingship had not been successful, and the people thought that if the man at the head of the state were elected for a term only, he would fear to be tyrannical. Perhaps they were right in principle; and had they been at liberty to choose the best man amongst the citizens for the post, whether rich or poor, gentle or simple, all would have been well. Unfortunately, they could not do this; because, although the plebeians had the right of meeting in the Comitia and of passing resolutions, the patricians kept all offices of state firmly gripped in their own hands. The effect of the revolution was, therefore, not to establish a republic of the modern type, but an aristocratic government or oligarchy. So far as the aristocracy were concerned, therefore, the revolution was a boon, but the people had gained little. Nevertheless, a beginning had been made, the change had in it the germs of liberty, and the history of the next two centuries shows how these germs were watered and made to grow.

The place of the king was filled by two officers called consuls, who were elected annually, and exercised their power, not conjointly as one would have expected, but severally—each to the full extent of the prerogative. If this led to confusion, and matters came to a crisis, the consuls might choose a dictator, to exercise absolute power for six months.

Now, had these consuls been chosen indiscriminately from the whole body of the people, they would have been inclined to rule all with impartiality; but, though the plebeians had a voice in the election, they could only choose members of the patrician families. Whilst, then, the consuls had to be careful not to offend one of their own order, knowing that after their time of office had expired, and they were simple citizens again, their enemy could have his revenge, they cared less what happened to plebeians who could never be in a position to do them harm. The consuls, therefore, became little more than machines for carrying out the wishes of the patricians, and the real power lay in the Senate, which retained its patrician character. The same truth applied in its degree to the other offices of state; the patricians monopolised all the magistracies, and everything was done for their benefit.

It will be seen from this that the political struggle in Rome was not quite on the usual modern lines. Generally the extension of the franchise has been the chief demand of the people, but in Rome this was not the great need. Patricians and plebeians were alike citizens, and could vote in the assemblies of the people, but the votes of the plebeians availed little, seeing that they could only vote for patricians, who held all official positions, and all the seats in the Senate, and could veto their efforts after legislation at will. To make matters worse the Roman patricians were a close corporation. In the best modern states the aristocracy is continually replenished from the plebeians, but in Rome the ranks of the patricians were closed, intermarriage with plebeians was illegal, and no one could be promoted into the patrician order. This grew unbearable, but it lasted long, and concessions were only wrung by the plebeians from the patricians by slow degrees. Occasionally a patrician, wiser than the rest, would endeavour to bring about reform; but the selfishness of his class generally proved too strong for him, and if he persisted he often paid for his zeal with his life.

While a country is prospering and comfort is widely diffused amongst all classes, the people are content to leave well alone and do not trouble themselves much about political anomalies; but when there is widespread poverty and misery the case is otherwise. Now it happened that at this time there was much trouble in Rome. There were political troubles, for the state took some time to settle down after the revolution, and was by no means so powerful as it had been under the Etruscan kings. There were wars with the Etruscans, who were now at the height of their power, and who defeated the Romans, and seem even to have captured Rome. Wars were waged with the surrounding Latin tribes, who tried to regain their independence when they saw Rome subdued by the Etruscans. In these wars patricians and plebeians fought side by side, but the plebeians were more injured by the wars than the patricians. Most of them were farmers. They had to serve without wages, pay heavy taxes, neglect their farms whilst the war lasted, and often endure the misery of seeing their property destroyed by the contending armies. It was little wonder if the small farmers lost their capital, ran into debt, and failed to meet their obligations. The creditors were generally patricians, and as the Roman law of debt was extremely severe, some patricians had actually private prisons in which they incarcerated their plebeian debtors, whom they might, after a certain period, sell into slavery. It was heart-rending to think that a man might fight like a hero in battle, and by his courage do the state infinite service, and on his return home find himself ruined, loaded with chains, exhibited in the market-place as a defaulter, and made a bondsman for life. Moreover, whilst the losses of war fell on the plebeians, the gains were seized by the patricians. This was especially the case with regard to the lands which were won in war and became state property, for the patricians claimed that they were the state, and the lands were divided amongst them, the plebeians receiving no consideration. So selfish were the patricians that they ceased even to pay the small government

tax upon the lands which they filched from the state, and thus the plebeians were plundered in every conceivable way; their property, freedom and lives, being at the mercy of their oppressors.

494. Sixteen years after the revolution, a protest, known as the First Secession of the Plebs, was made against this despotism. The legions, largely composed of plebeians, had returned from a victorious campaign and were ordered off to another. They demanded that certain reforms, which had been long promised, should be carried out, and when this was refused they seceded, marching to a hill three miles from Rome, afterwards called Mons Sacer. The patricians asked for terms, and, as the first need of the plebeians was security for liberty and life, plebeian officers, called tribunes, were appointed to protect their own class. That this safeguard might be effectual, the tribunes were not to leave the city during their year of office, their doors were to stand open night and day and their persons were to be sacred, curses being invoked on the head of any who interfered with them. At first there were two tribunes, later there were five, and at last ten.

The position of the tribunes was peculiar. They constituted a state within a state, but the protection they gave was real, and they became the natural leaders of the people, guiding them in their further struggles after liberty.

CHAPTER V.

THE VICTORY OF THE PLEBEIANS.

THE 200 years which followed the appointment of Tribunes were years of agitation in Rome—the plebeians struggling after political equality and agrarian reform, strenuously opposed by the patricians and not very loyally supported by the richer men in their own class, who too often sided with the patricians and got a share of the spoil. We have said that from time to time patricians arose, more noble than their fellows, who espoused the cause of the plebeians and tried to do them justice. One of these was Spurius Cassius, who, during a second consulate, proposed some agrarian legislation. Hither- 486.
to, the patricians had divided most of the public land amongst themselves, and used the rest as pasture for their cattle. Spurius Cassius proposed that a certain amount of the land should be divided amongst the plebeians, and that the patricians who used public land for pasture should pay rent to the state. The law was fair, and would have given satisfaction, but the patricians would have none of it; and as soon as Cassius ceased to be consul he was tried on a trumped-up charge of aiming at royal power, was condemned, and executed. His efforts, however, were not altogether in vain—he had shown the line which agrarian reform might take, and this was not forgotten.

Some years after the judicial murder of Cassius, Gnæus 473.
Genucius, a tribune who dared to impeach the patrician consuls, was found, on the morning of the day fixed for their trial, dead in his bed. But reforms are rarely obstructed by the killing of the reformers, and just after the

471. death of Genucius a law was passed which proved of high importance in the history of reform. In the earliest assembly, the Comitia Curiata, the people had voted on a caste basis; in the Comitia Centuriata, they had voted on a property basis; and in both of these the patricians had a preponderating influence. The lex Publilia fixed the tribe as the voting basis—not the three ancient tribes, nor the four tribes into which Servius Tullius had divided town and country for military purposes, but twenty-one tribes into which the city and rural territory were now divided. Thus for the first time voting took place upon fair terms—the rich man's vote counting for no more than that of the poor man. True, only landholders voted, but these were at this time the most numerous section of the Roman people. So far as the franchise was concerned, therefore, matters were on a satisfactory footing, but the patricians had still a monopoly in law, land and office.

The next struggle was directed against legal monopoly. The patricians kept legal affairs altogether in their own hands, there was neither any written code to which the plebeians could refer, nor any appeal from the decision of a patrician magistrate unless a capital sentence had been given, in which case the condemned might appeal to the assembly of the people.

462. Terentilius, a tribune, proposed the appointment of a commission with power to prepare a code of the laws, but through the obstinacy of the Senate ten years elapsed before this was done. So opposed were the patricians to the codification that they increased the number of tribunes, and distributed building lots to the poor citizens in the hope of persuading them to abandon the idea. But the plebeians refused to yield, and at

451. last ten men, the decemviri, were appointed to draw up a code.

The code, or record of law as it then existed, was issued in ten tables, engraved in copper and fixed in front of the Senate-house. Two tables were added by a second body of commissioners so that it became known as the Twelve Tables.

There was nothing original or specially wise in the code, but the record met the needs of the time, and laid a foundation for the future.

Having obtained office, the decemviri, of whom five were plebeians, were in no hurry to abdicate, and it looked as if an attempt was being made to substitute a council of ten for the consuls and tribunes to whom the people had become accustomed. War was at this time in progress against the Volscians and Sabines, and the armies once more seceded, 449.
marching to the Janiculum, and demanding the restoration of tribunes. It is in connection with this incident that the thrilling story of Virginia is narrated, based upon the tyranny of Appius Claudius the head of the decemviri. The story may or may not be true, but the cry:—

> "Tribunes, hurrah for tribunes,
> Down with the wicked ten,"

doubtless expressed the feeling of the people at the moment. The secession ended in the abdication of the decemviri, and the election of consuls and tribunes in the usual fashion. The same year the Valerio-Horatian laws were passed, which assured the inviolability of the officers of the plebeians, forbade the creation of a magistrate from whom there was no right of appeal, and ordained that under certain circumstances the plebiscita, the resolutions of the plebeians, which had heretofore been little more than moral obligations, should be legally binding on the community.

Slowly but surely the plebeians were winning their way, and a few years later another advance was made by the lex 445.
Canuleia, which sanctioned marriage between patricians and plebeians, and thus broke down one of the barriers between the orders. The plebeians had been endeavouring for a long time to get the consulship thrown open to them, but when Canuleius, the tribune, urged that this should be done, the patricians opposed the suggestion so vehemently that a compromise was arrived at by which, in place of consuls, military tribunes were elected with consular powers, the excuse for the

change of office being that the number of wars in which the Romans were engaged made it convenient that more than two generals should be available. The change was of importance, as it provided a battle ground on which the plebeians could annually show their growing strength. Between this year and 367, when the consulship was definitely thrown open to the plebeians, they succeeded in obtaining the appointment of military tribunes in place of consuls fifty times out of seven-eight.

When the patricians saw that the consulship was escaping their grasp, they tried to make it of less importance by with-
443. drawing from the consuls some of their functions. Censors were appointed to manage the burgess and taxation rolls, and the office of censor, which became of great importance, was confined to patricians. The patricians lost much of their power but struggled hard, and circumvented the plebeians whenever they could. Ancient electioneering was much like modern: the electors were canvassed, bribery and intimidation freely resorted to and efforts made to find flaws in the election. If all else failed, the Romans sometimes went a step farther and tried murder—legal or illegal.

After this, for a time, the Romans were so busy with foreign wars that they had little leisure for home affairs.
438. First came a long and tenacious struggle with the Etruscans of Veii.

After the conquest of Veii came the invasion of Italy by
390. the Gauls, the defeat of the Romans on the Allia, the capture and burning of the city, and finally a severe struggle with the Volscians. These wars pressed heavily upon the Romans and above all upon the farmers, who were hopelessly in debt to the patrician money-lenders. The wealthy plebeians also had their grievance in that they were excluded from office by the patricians, so a coalition of rich plebeians and poor farmers was formed for the purpose of obtaining economic and political
377. reform. The tribunes Licinius Stolo and Sextius Sextinus proposed a series of bills, or "rogationes" setting forth various

reforms, and although these had to be fought for sturdily for ten years they at last became law. By these it was enacted 367.
that Rome should be ruled by consuls, one of whom must be a plebeian; that half the custodians of the oracles were to be plebeians; that no citizen was to occupy more than 500 acres of the domain land, or pasture more than 100 cattle and 500 sheep on the common land; that landowners should employ a certain proportion of free labour, and that interest paid on debts should be deducted from the capital, and time be given for payment of the balance. Licinius and Sextius fought splendidly for their rogations, and were re-elected as tribunes year after year, until the patricians yielded and Sextius Sex- 366.
tinus became the first plebeian consul.

Even after these laws had been passed the more obstinate amongst the patricians kept up the struggle, and tried still to carry their own nominees. But when the people for- 343.
mally enacted that both consuls might be plebeians, the patricians took the hint. When they found that they could not regain the consulship, they transferred some of its more important duties to other officers, such as the "prætor urbanus" and the "ædiles curules". But these proved useful officers in themselves, and now that the plebeians had a consul of their own to see that elections were fairly conducted, they could elect their own candidates, and the multiplication of offices was of less consequence. Moreover, after a time all magistracies were thrown open to plebeians and patricians on equal terms.

The Senate also lost its exclusiveness, and for a time much 339.
of its power. By a lex Publilia the "patrum auctoritas," the sanction of the measures of the Comitia Centuriata by the Senate, was ordered to be given beforehand; so that the control of the Comitia by the Senate became a mere form; and 287.
by the lex Hortensia, plebiscita, the acts of the plebs in their own special assembly, received the force of law. After the passing of this law there was no need for further conflict between the orders. The patricians continued to receive that

respect which is rightly owing to ancient names, but the plebeians were now the strongest and even the most wealthy part of the community. A foundation of republican equality had been laid in Rome, and it seemed as if popular government might develop in a satisfactory way. Unhappily other forces came into play, and the lust of gain and power, and the blight of slavery rendered vain the reforms for which generations of patriotic Romans had earnestly striven.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

In the last two chapters we have seen how the Romans prospered at home after the monarchy, let us now look back and see how they prospered abroad.

The Etruscan kings, whose expulsion from Rome brought the monarchy to an end, were warriors; and under their sway 509.
Roman power, spreading over Latium, was felt by the bordering Volscian and Sabine tribes. But the fall of the monarchy was succeeded by a time of weakness, during which the city was only barely able to hold her own. Her first serious trouble was with the Etruscans, who were now at the height of their power, ruling over territories both north and south of Rome, and sharing, in alliance with Carthage, supremacy over the Western Mediterranean. One Etruscan prince, Lars Porsena, attacked Rome so vigorously that the Romans had to make a humiliating peace, and surrender all territory north of the Tiber. Fortunately the army which had conquered Rome met with disaster on proceeding farther south with a view to fresh conquest, and the Etruscans were probably unable to compel the performance of the treaty into which Rome had entered.

Other important events happened at this time, tending to depress the Etruscans and relieve the situation. The Persians were just now attempting the conquest of Greece, and whilst Xerxes crossed the Hellespont with his mighty army, the Carthaginians, who were in alliance with the Etruscans, invaded 480.
Sicily, with the object of preventing the Greek colonists there from sending help to the mother country. The Greeks were,

however, completely victorious both in Sicily and in Greece, crushing at Himera and Salamis all their foes; and the victory of Himera so encouraged the Syracusans, to whom it was mainly attributable, that they boldly contested the lordship of the seas both with Carthage and her Etruscan ally. The Sicilian straits were closed against the Etruscans, a battle
474. was fought at Cumæ in which Hiero of Syracuse won a decisive victory over them, and from this time their power
424. declined. Half a century after, they were driven out of Campania by the Samnites; and when, somewhat later, the
405. Romans attacked Veii, an Etruscan city, and besieged it for nearly ten years, the Etruscans were unable to render it any assistance.

During this period Rome had been successfully contending against her warlike neighbours, the Sabines, Æquians and Volscians, who often raided her territory, approaching at times almost to the gates of the city. Fortunately, the Latin tribes who surrounded Rome recognised that in this matter all had
493. a common interest, and made alliance with her, so that she had buffer states between herself and her enemies. Yet the struggle was severe, and had the Etruscans been able to unite forces with the Volscians and the Sabines, it might have gone hard with the republic. But Etruria had enough to do with her own affairs. Campania had been wrested from her by the Samnites, the Sicilians had diminished her maritime importance, and a more terrible enemy than either was pressing from the north. Beyond Etruria, between the Apennines and the Alps, lay the fertile lands of Gallia Cisalpina, inhabited by Celtic tribes whose numbers were reinforced from time to time by their northern kinsmen. About this period there had been important tribal movements. The Celts, who in their westward migration had passed Italy by, were now retracing their steps, and masses of them had crossed the Alps and descended into the rich plains of Lombardy. This district had been under Etruscan control, but the Celts drove
391. the Etruscans out of their possessions; and crossing the Apen-

nines, followed them into Etruria. Clusium was besieged, and the very existence of Etruria threatened, and the Etruscans, though their city of Veii had just fallen into the hands of the Romans, besought their help against this yet more dreaded foe. The Romans did not send troops to help the Etruscans, whose troubles they perhaps viewed with equanimity, but they sent envoys to request the Celts to desist. To this request the Celts paid no attention, and when the envoys found that they could not prevail by haughty speech they so far forgot their position as to take part in an Etruscan sally in which one of the Celtic chiefs was killed. The Celts acted with great dignity, sending messengers to Rome to demand the surrender of the men who had thus abused their position as envoys; but the Romans, despising their barbarous correspondents, added insult to injury by nominating these very envoys for election to important office in the state. On learning this, Brennus, who led the Celts, at once broke up the siege of Clusium, and 390.
marched on Rome with such rapidity that he was at the Allia, twelve miles from the city, before the Roman army encountered him. The Romans advanced full of confidence and with little precaution, but were attacked by the Celts so furiously that they were routed at the first onset. Such of them as escaped made for Veii, leaving the capital undefended. Had the Celts marched upon Rome instantly, they might have utterly destroyed it, but they waited for three days, so that the women and children had time to fly from the city and take refuge among the friendly Latins, whilst the men, abandoning the outer city, assembled in the Capitol. When the Celts arrived, they sacked and burnt the city, but the Capitol proved impregnable. The siege lasted for seven months, and then the Celts, hearing that their own territories were being invaded, accepted a heavy ransom and retired as rapidly as they came.

The crisis through which Rome had passed had been acute, and it seemed as if the reverse must be permanently disastrous. When the Romans returned and found their city in ruins,

some proposed that it should be abandoned, and that they should migrate to Veii, but this idea not finding favour, Rome was rebuilt, and recovered its old prosperity with great rapidity.

The Etruscans, taking advantage of the circumstances of the time, endeavoured to regain Veii, but they were defeated, and Southern Etruria was incorporated with the Roman
389. state. So also when the Volscians attacked Latium, the very year after Rome had been burned, they were defeated and colonies planted in their territory to ensure its permanent subjugation.

Thus, in spite of all disasters, Rome was still the strongest power in Italy, and her dominions were wider than ever. Her next contests were unfortunately with her Latin and Hernican allies. These had borne the brunt of the Volscian attacks, and had suffered severely at times; but, seeing how Rome was advancing and fearing the loss of independence, they rebelled and fought stubbornly for several years. At
358. length they had to submit to a treaty by which they accepted the position of subjects rather than allies of Rome.

The supremacy of Rome was confirmed by successive victories over the Celts, whose further progress southward she effectually barred. This was a benefit to the whole of Italy, so that Rome earned her right to suzerainty, not only by defeating the tribes of the peninsula themselves, but by defending them from the barbarians of the north. The service which she thus rendered to civilisation was recognised beyond the limits of Italy. Athens heard of her
348. fame, and Carthage made a treaty with the rising state.

Whilst Rome was engaged subduing the Volsci and Æqui, the Samnite tribes of the Apennines had been spreading southward, and some of them had taken possession of Campania. But residence in the cities of the plain speedily
343. caused them to degenerate, and when they in their turn were attacked by other and hardier Samnites, they were fain to appeal to Rome, and offered to place themselves under

her suzerainty. The Romans accordingly declared war against the hill tribes, thus beginning a contest which was destined to give the city some trouble. In the two first campaigns, however, Rome was successful, and the Samnites entered into a treaty by which they promised to desist from 341. troubling the Campanian cities.

Hardly was peace concluded with the Samnites when Rome found herself at war with the Latins who bore their subjection ill. They were willing to accept the headship of Rome, from which indeed there was evidently no escape, but they demanded that one consul should be Latin, so that more attention might be paid to their interests. To this demand the Romans refused to accede, and after two fiercely-contested battles at Mount Vesuvius and Trifanum the insurrection came to an end. Rome now adopted a new policy with regard to her Latin subjects. The Latin federation, of which she had been the head, was dissolved, and a policy of isolation adopted, by which separate treaties were made between Rome and the several cities, the inhabitants of which were permitted free intercourse with Rome, but neither to trade nor intermarry amongst themselves. There was variety of treatment as regards individual cities: some lost their independence, some retained it, some received full rights of citizenship, and some limited rights—everything was done to weaken the bonds of union between the cities, and to increase their dependence upon Rome. Rome adopted the same policy in her subsequent dealings with conquered cities; and although it seems a poor plan, according to modern ideas, it answered her purpose at the time—welding the communities together so that even the undaunted Hannibal, with all his perseverance and brilliant success in the field, could not break the ties uniting them to Rome.

Scarcely had Rome thus set her house in order when once more the Samnites decided to try her strength. The dispute arose about the Greek city of Palæopolis, which 327. Rome determined to subjugate and the Samnites to defend.

After it had fallen, the war was carried into the Samnite country. The Samnites lost heart and asked for peace, but
321. the Romans refused to grant it; and the Samnites, driven to desperation, made a supreme effort, and came near to destroying the whole Roman army, which was led by a stratagem into a valley known as the Caudine Forks, and had to surrender at discretion. But Pontius, the Samnite general, played his cards badly, for though he compelled the consuls to make a favourable peace, he did not free them until he had forced the army to pass under the yoke. The Romans, stung by this degradation, refused to ratify the peace; and, greatly to the sorrow of the Samnites, war was continued. Had the Samnites been more united they might have given the Romans plenty of trouble, for they were exceedingly hardy and brave, but many of their tribes were lukewarm and either remained neutral or allied themselves with Rome, so that those who fought had little chance of success. As the war proceeded, the Romans made their conquests sure by building fortresses,
304. planting colonies, and making roads, so that when peace was at last granted to the Samnites, Rome had obtained a hold upon the country not easily to be shaken off.

298. Some years later the war was renewed by the Samnites, who, finding their position hopeless, tried to unite the subject peoples of Italy in one determined effort to break the Roman bonds asunder. The Etruscans, Umbrians and Celts joined them; and the Romans, greatly alarmed, strained every nerve, and put 60,000 men into the field. After a defeat at Clusium, the Romans at last managed to divide the
295. forces of the enemy, and at Sentinum utterly routed the Celts and Samnites and broke up the coalition. The Celts were annihilated, and the Etruscans sued for peace, but the Samnites fought on with the courage of despair. At last
290. they could do no more, and the Romans, who respected their courage, granted them peace on honourable terms.

CHAPTER VII.

PYRRHUS.

In the wars which Rome had fought with the Samnites the Lucanians, who occupied the southern corner of the Italian peninsula, had been faithful allies, and their alliance had been of the utmost service to the city. At the conclusion of the 290.
last Samnite war, therefore, the Romans, in consideration of their services, left them free to deal as they liked with the Greek cities situate in their territory. In conformity with this understanding the Lucanians attacked Thurii, upon which the Thurines appealed to Rome, and placed themselves under her suzerainty. It was a breach of faith for Rome to interfere in the matter, but the Romans were beginning to be spoiled by success, and as they did not now require the aid of the Lucanians, they accepted the submission of the Thurines, and warned their old allies to let the city alone. The Lucanians, indignant at this treatment, declared war and invited the other Italian peoples to join them. The Etruscans were amongst the first to join the confederacy; and helped by the Senones, a Celtic tribe living on the Adriatic coast, they annihilated a Roman army which had been sent to 284.
defend Arretium.

The Romans, now thoroughly aroused, marched in force against the Senones, and having slain many, drove the rest out of the peninsula. This treatment of the Senones exasperated their Celtic neighbours, and the Boii and others, uniting with the Etruscans, marched upon Rome. The united army was, however, completely defeated at Lake Vadimo, and the 283.
Celts were so discouraged that they made peace, and with-

drew from the confederacy. Rome was now able to give undivided attention to Southern Italy, the Lucanians were easily defeated, and many of the Greek towns became Roman possessions.

With Tarentum, the principal Greek city in the south of Italy, Rome was at peace, but the Tarentines watched her rapid growth with alarm, perceiving that the time was approaching when they would have to choose between a Roman protectorate and war. There were two parties in Tarentum—the aristocracy, who advocated submission to the Romans; and the people, who desired independence. Now it happened that the extirpation of the Senonian Gauls had given the Romans possession of a tract of country on the Adriatic; and, in order to protect their conquests, they had established a colony at Sena, the former capital of the Senones, a city on the sea-coast. Ostensibly in connection with the establishment of this colony a fleet was sent round, which anchored in the harbour of Tarentum. Perhaps the Romans had arranged with their partisans and hoped to obtain quiet possession of the city. At any rate the Tarentines, suspected treachery, and rushed to the harbour, destroying five ships out of ten, and killing many sailors, amongst whom was the admiral himself. The Tarentines claimed this justification, that an ancient treaty with Rome forbade the Romans to sail into their seas, but
282. there was no excuse for such high-handed conduct.

The Romans might at once have declared war against the Tarentines, but they tried peaceful negotiations in the first place, and an embassy was sent to demand apology and restitution. When this was refused and when the Tarentines attacked Thurii and drove out the Roman garrison, the Romans no longer hesitated, but sent an army southward and laid waste the surrounding country. The Tarentines were now committed to war, and began to look round for allies.
281. At this time there was in Epirus a king named Pyrrhus, who had a high reputation as a general, and was extremely ambitious. He claimed kinship with Alexander, and thought he

might conquer the western world, as Alexander had conquered the eastern half a century before—his idea being to unite Southern Italy, Sicily and Carthage under his rule. Pyrrhus seems to have been an estimable man: honourable and brave, but he set himself an impossible task, for he had neither Alexander's ability nor resources; and, moreover, his enemies were not Asiatics but hardy Europeans. The ambitious designs of Pyrrhus were no secret, and an embassy was sent from Tarentum to endeavour to obtain his help against Rome. The envoys deceived Pyrrhus, leading him to believe that if he landed in Italy with an army of moderate size great numbers would flock to his banner; whereupon he, thinking the time suitable for carrying out his projects, sent his general Milo to occupy Tarentum with a small force and 280.
followed shortly after with 25,000 men. No sooner had he landed than he saw that he had been duped as to the resources of the Tarentines, who had neither an army to give him, nor any inclination themselves to fight. Pyrrhus accordingly at once put the city under martial law, and gave the citizens their choice between military service and military execution.

The Romans had meanwhile been making their preparations, and three armies were put into the field, to guard Rome, check revolt in Etruria, and advance into Lower Italy. At this time an untoward event happened at Rhegium. A legion of Campanian allies had been sent by the Senate to garrison that city and guard the straits, but having no special affection for Rome, they took the opportunity of revolting, seized the town, slew the inhabitants, and established themselves as freebooters, following the example of another band of Campanians who, after the death of Agathocles of Syracuse, their employer, had done the same in Messina, the town on the other side of the straits.

Meanwhile Pyrrhus encountered the Romans at Heraclea, and a fierce battle was fought, in which they were defeated with great loss. Pyrrhus also suffered heavily, and could

less easily afford it. The effect of the first battle was satisfactory in one way, for many flocked to his standard—the Lucanians, Bruttians and Samnites joining him, whilst the Greek cities expelled their Roman garrisons and joined him also. The key of the situation was not however held by these, but by the Latins, who showed no desire to rise, for though they might not love Rome much they loved Pyrrhus and the Greeks less.

Pyrrhus seems to have been ill-informed about the strength of Rome, and to have imagined that he could carry out his plans without taking her much into consideration. Accordingly after Heraclea he sent Cineas his minister to Rome to propose peace, demanding the freedom of the Greek towns, and the relinquishment of such territories as had been taken from his allies. The Senate seemed inclined to listen to Cineas, but were persuaded by Appius Claudius Cæcus to reply that Romans could not treat with any foreign enemy so long as he remained on Italian soil. When Pyrrhus heard that the negotiations had failed, he marched towards the city, but though the Romans avoided battle, three armies watched his movements, and finding that he could do nothing, he retired to Campania and went into winter quarters.

279. Next year Pyrrhus assumed the offensive in Apulia, and defeated the Romans at Asculum; but, being wounded, had to retire to Tarentum for a time. He had now beaten the Romans twice, but he was no nearer his object than before, and it was becoming clear to him that he could not conquer Italy with his resources.

At this time Sicily was falling rapidly into the hands of the Carthaginians, who, not content with the western end of the island, which had been for a long time under their authority, were pressing eastward and seemed likely to conquer the whole island. Syracuse was now in danger, and as Pyrrhus was son-in-law of Agathocles, the late king of that city, the Syracusans invited him to accept the sovereignty and deliver

278. them from Carthage; whereupon Pyrrhus, not sorry to leave

Italy, crossed to Sicily, whilst the Carthaginians, alarmed at a development which threatened their power, entered into an alliance with Rome against him.

Pyrrhus was for a time most successful in Sicily, freeing city after city, until the Carthaginians had only Lilybæum left. Finding that he could not drive them from this last stronghold without a fleet, he proceeded to build one, and soon had it floating in the harbour of Syracuse. Meanwhile he had been governing the island so badly that his subjects had tired of him. The Greeks were passionately fond of autonomy, and the despotic methods which Pyrrhus introduced did not please them. Two years therefore sufficed to exhaust their goodwill; and, influenced partly by this and partly by complaints from his Italian allies, he used his fleet when it was ready, not against Lilybæum, but to carry him back to Tarentum. On the voyage he was attacked by the Carthaginian fleet, and lost many vessels, and his Sicilian empire collapsed as soon as he left the island. When he arrived in Italy he found that the Roman legions were concentrating at Beneventum, and there he made a further effort, but was beaten; whereupon, despairing of success, he left a garrison in 275.
Tarentum under Milo, and returned to his native land. It says something for his popularity, that in spite of his long absence and failure abroad, he regained his kingdom, but a year or two afterwards he was killed ingloriously at Argos.

When Milo heard that his master was dead, he handed 272.
Tarentum over to the Romans, who destroyed its fortifications and confiscated its fleet. Shortly afterwards Rhegium was 270.
captured, and then, some further risings amongst the Samnites having been quelled, there was peace. Rome had completed the conquest of Italy south of the Apennines, and new colonies, fortresses and roads made all secure.

The city on the banks of the Tiber was now mistress of Italy, and worthy to be called great. Her methods had sometimes been selfish, and sometimes not very honourable, yet there had not been much to complain of. So far Rome had

kept within her own borders, and her wars had been in the main justifiable on defensive principles. She had succeeded because her citizens were united and patriotic. They did not hire mercenaries to fight their battles, they risked their own lives, and this of itself was a guarantee that they were not fighting without reason. A time was soon to come when Roman generals would make war for the sake of gain, and her citizens would not scruple in their own selfish interest to trample upon the rights of humanity, but thus far their behaviour had not been ignoble.

CHAPTER VIII.

A NEW DEPARTURE.

THE failure of Pyrrhus in Italy was creditable to Rome, not only from a military, but also from an administrative point of view. Every one knew that Romans could fight, but Rome had now shown that she could hold fast by prudent policy what she had conquered by the sword. Here was a new lesson to the world, which had seen many warriors but few good rulers, and the nations perceived that a great power had arisen in Europe. Hitherto Rome had not been enticed by lust of territory. She had simply gone on subduing the tribes on her frontiers, until at length she saw that there could be no rest for her short of the bounds fixed by the seas on three sides of the peninsula. She had never dreamed of conquest across the sea. Her fleet was of the poorest, and only suitable for protective purposes, and she had apparently no desire to add to it. But circumstances arose which led to a new and fateful departure in her policy.

Due south of Italy, on the Bay of Tunis, stood the large and prosperous African city of Carthage. This city had been built by Phœnicians, colonists from that little country on the coast of Canaan, which by its resistless energy and enterprise had made itself a mart for the trade of the world. The Phœnicians were a peacefully-disposed people, avoiding aggressive war, willing to make almost any compromise for the sake of commerce, and not hesitating even to pay tribute in exchange for trading facilities. Not that there was anything cowardly about the Phœnician character. They must have had plenty of courage before they could have adventured as

they did, sailing boldly over the seas of the known world centuries before any other race, exploring the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and even circumnavigating Africa. They had done the world great service, for from Phœnicia "commerce first dawned in all its greatness upon man".

In the Mediterranean the Phœnicians had established many stations, of which Carthage, though by no means the oldest, soon became the greatest. At first the Carthaginians were of the same pacific spirit as their kinsmen, paying, for instance, ground rent to the Berber native tribes of the vicinity for leave to dwell amongst them, many years after they had become powerful enough to throw over the obligation. They were at last driven from their pacific attitude by the Greeks, who, having learned navigation from the Phœnicians, soon became their most formidable rivals, planting colonies like them and trading with equal vigour. The Greeks were settled in Sicily, South Italy and France; and Carthage had to join the Etruscans in the endeavour to prevent the Mediterranean from being turned into a Grecian lake.

During the critical period when Xerxes hurled the power of Asia against Greece, Carthage, influenced partly by Phœnicia and partly by a desire to see her commercial rivals humbled, attacked the Sicilian Greeks, but was completely discomfited on the Himera by Gelo of Syracuse. From this time forward there was much warfare between Carthage and Syracuse; and as Etruria succumbed to Rome, and Rome had not yet come forward as a maritime power, Syracuse was the chief competitor that Carthage had to contend with in the Western Mediterranean. The resources of Syracuse were, however, comparatively small, and a working arrangement was come to by which Carthage contented herself with the possession of Western Sicily, whilst Syracuse held the east.

The importance of the Carthaginian navy at this time is proved by treaties made between Carthage and Rome. In the
348. first of these the Romans agreed that they would not navigate

the coast of Africa west of the Fair Cape, but they obtained the privilege of free trade in Carthaginian Sicily, Africa and Sardinia, whilst the Carthaginians were allowed to trade with Rome. In the second, forty years later, Rome was put in a 306. worse position, being forbidden to trade with Sardinia and Africa, and excluded from the eastern seas.

At the time when Pyrrhus was driven from Italy, Carthage 275. was at the summit of her power, and her empire seemed not less promising than the Roman, though it proved to be much less firmly founded. In those early days Rome governed well enough. She did not interfere unduly with her subject communities, nor load them with tribute, and such of them as were akin to her in race became satisfied with her rule or at any rate preferred it to the rule of an outsider. This had been shown during the war with Pyrrhus, and would soon be yet more clearly proved during the war with Hannibal. Far otherwise was it with those under the sway of Carthage, whose methods were oriental. She governed selfishly, depriving her subjects of free trade, loading some with tribute, treating others as slaves, so that they had everything to gain by the downfall of their oppressor. There was another reason why the Carthaginian empire was likely to prove less substantial than the Roman. The traders of Carthage trusted, in their wars, too much to mercenary troops, who often betrayed them, whereas the Roman soldier was also a Roman citizen, fighting for the greatness of Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

In a former chapter it was related how certain freebooters, Campanians by origin, had obtained possession of Rhegium, following the example of others who called themselves Mamertines or sons of Mars, and had gained Messina in Sicily in the same high-handed fashion. The Romans besieged Rhegium which was on their side of the strait, and when they had
271. captured it with the aid of Hiero, king of Syracuse, the mutineers were severely dealt with. Messina did not interest the Romans as it was in Sicily; but since the Mamertines there were obnoxious to Hiero, he drove them into their city and closely besieged it. Perceiving that the capture of the city was
264. imminent, the Mamertines appealed to Rome, offering to place themselves under her suzerainty. There were various reasons why the Romans should have refused this request. It was not very honourable for them to protect the Mamertines against Hiero, seeing that he had helped them to break up a precisely similar gang in Rhegium. It was also a departure from the policy hitherto pursued, by which Rome had refrained from intermeddling outside her own peninsula; and it would almost certainly lead to war with Carthage. The question was thus of immense importance, and was long debated in the Senate, but at last they decided to help the Mamertines, who were received into the Italian confederacy—Rome thus taking her first great step towards universal empire.

There were in Messina Carthaginian partisans who sent word of the appeal which had been made to Rome, and the Carthaginians, determined not to let the Romans obtain a

footing in the island, seized the city and informed the Roman general when he reached Rhegium that his services were not required. He crossed to Messina, however, and by a stratagem obtained possession of the person of the Carthaginian commander and then of the city itself. The Carthaginians deeply chagrined, declared war against Rome, and in alliance with Hiero of Syracuse besieged Messina, but the Romans defeated 263.
both armies, and when Hiero perceived how things were shaping he made peace with Rome.

The Romans having now only the Carthaginians to contend with made great progress, and soon gained the whole island excepting the maritime fortresses. Perceiving that they could not gain these so long as the Carthaginians were supreme on the sea, the Romans decided to build a fleet, and soon launched 120 vessels. Being uninstructed in the naval tactics of the time, which required careful manœuvring and ramming, they hit upon a plan to neutralise the effect of these by the use of boarding bridges, which could be dropped on an enemy's ship and clamped to it by hooks. Over these bridges soldiers could pour, and though inferior in seamanship, the Romans were greatly superior to the Africans in a hand-to-hand fight.

The first naval battle was fought at Mylæ, where the 260.
Carthaginians, confounded by the new tactics, were beaten. Rome had now become a naval power, but her admirals did not learn seamanship in a day, and her fleets had many disasters. So the war lingered on until at length the Senate determined to carry it into Africa, and sent Regulus and Volso with four legions and a powerful fleet. The Carthaginian fleet having been beaten, the legions landed safely in Africa and carried all before them. So confident were the Romans of success that they ordered Volso to return with half the army whilst Regulus remained to finish the campaign with the rest. But these orders were premature. The Carthaginians sued for peace, but Regulus met their proposals with such harshness that they determined to fight on.

It happened that about this time mercenaries arrived at Carthage from Greece amongst whom was Xanthippus a Spartan captain. He was entrusted with the chief command, and having carefully drilled the troops and inspired them with confidence
255. in his ability, he led them against the Romans, who were completely beaten—Regulus being taken prisoner and only 2,000 men escaping to the entrenchments. The Romans at once sent a fleet to rescue the miserable remnant, and, after a naval victory over the now exulting Carthaginians, embarked their men, but on its way back the fleet met with a violent storm and three-fourths of the vessels were destroyed.

During this contest many African tribes had gone over to the side of Rome, and after her victory Carthage treated these with great severity, laying heavy fines upon them and crucifying their leaders. The cruelty of the revenge rankled in the minds of the people, and Carthage suffered for it when her own day of trouble came.

254. Next year the Romans captured Panormus (Palermo) and gained the mastery in Northern Sicily, and the year after they
253. sent a plundering expedition to Africa which succeeded well enough against the Carthaginians but was destroyed in a storm when homeward bound. These disasters on the sea discouraged the Romans who gave up for a time the idea of becoming a naval power and reduced their fleet to what was needed for the defence of their coasts. Two years later—their spirits
250. being raised by another victory at Palermo—they tried again,
249. but a fresh disaster dashed their hopes to the ground, and they once more abandoned the sea.

This first Punic war had been in progress for fifteen years, and the Romans had made little headway, though they had lost four fleets, many citizens and much money. The Carthaginians also had lost much, but it was of less consequence to them, for they could hire new mercenaries, and regain their lost treasure by trading. During the next few years, the Romans were apathetic, continuing the siege of the Carthaginian strongholds in Sicily but not attempting anything further. Had the Cartha-

ginians used the opportunity thus given them, and pressed the Romans, they might at least have wrung from them favourable conditions of peace. One Carthaginian indeed did well, Hamilcar Barca or Barak, who commanded in Sicily, establishing himself on Mount Ercte, now Monte Pellegrino, and making his troops bring over their wives and children and settle there. From this centre he kept up a guerilla warfare with the Romans in Sicily, and even landed upon and ravaged the coasts of Italy. Had the Carthaginians properly supported him all would have been well, but they were lamentably supine, and even allowed the fleet to become decayed and useless.

At last the Romans determined to end the business, and 242.
since the treasury was empty and the Senate disinclined to move, the citizens took the matter into their own hands, and raising funds by private contribution actually built a fleet of 200 vessels and manned it with 60,000 seamen. Carthage was taken by surprise; she had made no preparation for such an emergency, and, before she could meet it, her fleet was sunk and the strongholds of Lilybæum and Drepanum captured. There was nothing for the Carthaginians now but peace, and Hamilcar received orders to stay his hand and get the best terms he could. The terms offered were quite as good as the Carthaginians could have expected under the circumstances. They undertook to abandon Sicily and the adjoining islands, and to pay an indemnity of about £800,000. It is satisfactory to know that Hamilcar, who had done so well though his labour proved in vain, was permitted to leave Sicily with the honours of war.

Scarcely was this war concluded when a revolt broke out 241.
among the subjects of Carthage herself. The immediate cause of the revolt was the refusal of Carthage to pay the mercenaries their proper wages, but bitter feelings had been left in the minds of many by the cruelty with which Carthage had revenged herself after the defeat of Regulus some years before. During the progress of the revolt, the garrison in Sardinia

240. declared in favour of the insurgents, and offered to hand over the island to Rome. Their offer was accepted by the Romans, who took possession of the island, but when the Carthaginians had quelled the revolt they sent envoys to demand its restoration. The action of the Romans had been high-handed, and perhaps dishonest, but they refused to give up their booty and, pretending to have a grievance against Carthage, declared war. There was nothing left for the Carthaginians but submission, and thus the Romans gained Sardinia without a struggle. They acquired Corsica shortly after, so that they now possessed Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica—the three great islands of the Western Mediterranean.

CHAPTER X.

A BREATHING SPACE.

TWENTY-THREE years elapsed between the termination of the first and the beginning of the second Punic war—years not spent idly either by Rome or Carthage. Rome had now become a great power, and had to face corresponding responsibilities. This was soon illustrated by her action in the Adriatic. She ruled on both sides of the Italian peninsula, and being no longer restricted by treaties with either Carthage or Tarentum, it was of importance to her that the Adriatic should be rendered safe for trade. At this time piracy flourished in the Eastern Mediterranean, and piratic expeditions were organised on so large a scale that no power had been strong enough to interfere in the cause of order. The Romans accordingly took the matter in hand, and having first sent 230.
envoys, who were murdered on their way home, they followed next year with an expedition. They subdued and severely punished the Illyrian pirates, and prohibited them from sending armed vessels in future south of a fixed point. Rome's action in this matter was a benefit to the Grecian states, which had suffered continually from the piracy but from their disunited condition had been incapable of grappling with it. Various Grecian states, therefore, gratefully made alliance with Rome ; 228.
and when ambassadors went to explain that the Romans were actuated by benevolent motives only and not by desire of conquest, they were well received and admitted to the Isthmian games.

In order that their control of the pirates in the Adriatic might be lasting, the Romans established stations on the

Illyrian coast, from which also their governors could keep a watch upon Macedonia, whose intentions were known to be hostile.

Whilst Rome was thus strengthening the outposts of her empire, Italy remained at peace. It was becoming evident, however, that the easily-crossed Apennines did not form a sufficient frontier in the north, and that sooner or later she must extend her conquests to the Alps. The fine lands lying between the Alps and the Apennines were inhabited by Celtic tribes—ill disposed towards Rome, and ready to march against her on any pretence. After the first Punic war, the Boii and the Trans-Alpine Celts had invaded Italy; but, quarrelling between themselves, had been easily discomfited. Some years later the tribes, finding that Rome was encroaching upon their
226. territory and believing war to be only a question of time, resolved to strike the first blow, and descended upon Italy in great force. Rome was ill prepared for the invasion; and the Celts, crossing the Apennines, plundered Etruria and reached Clusium without serious contest. Gradually, however, the Roman armies closed upon them, and although the Celts were victorious in a preliminary engagement at Fæsulæ, they were
225. almost annihilated at Telamon.

The Romans now determined to complete the work of
222. subjugation; and, after some hard fighting, the task was accomplished, and the Alpine frontier was reached. Measures were at once taken to secure what had been won. The more barbarous tribes were extirpated, fortified colonies were established at Placentia and Cremona, and a fine highway, the "Via Flaminia," was carried across the Apennines to Ariminum.

Whilst the Romans were thus setting their house in order, the Carthaginians had not been idle. The first Punic war, followed as it had been by the serious Numidian revolt known as the Inexpiable War, had left Carthage in a state of depression. She was still supreme on the coast of Africa, and had settlements in Spain, but she had lost the fertile islands of the

Mediterranean. Moreover, as the Romans had acquired Sicily and could at any time easily descend upon Africa from that island, no one could guess how long it would please Rome to leave her the relics of her former greatness. Under these circumstances it behoved patriotic Carthaginians to be up and doing, and Hamilcar, the general who had already shown such high ability and whose genius had brought the Numidian insurrection to an end, was chosen commander-in-chief. The ostensible business of Hamilcar was to check the border tribes, but he had other schemes in hand. As a patriotic Carthaginian he detested the city which had so humbled his own, and as a general he perceived that Rome could be best attacked in Italy. He had tried this successfully on a small scale whilst commanding in Sicily, and had he been adequately supported, the descent on Italy which he contemplated, and which Hannibal afterwards carried out, might have been made from the Sicilian side. With the loss of Sicily that chance had passed; and, if Italy were to be invaded, it must be from some other quarter. Under these circumstances Hamilcar's mind turned to Spain, where Carthage had already a footing, and he determined to try to found an empire there to compensate her for the one which she had lost, and by means of which she might humble her proud oppressor.

Keeping his own counsel and accompanied by Hannibal, 236.
his son, Hamilcar marched west, apparently against the Libyans, but suddenly embarking his army in the fleet commanded by Hasdrubal his son-in-law, which had followed him along the coast, he crossed to Spain. During the next eight years he did such service there that Cato, visiting Spain before the evidences of his work had been obliterated, declared that no king was worthy to be compared with Hamilcar. He died in battle at last, and was succeeded by 228.
Hasdrubal, who continued the work which his father-in-law had so ably begun. The Romans watched the proceedings in Spain with some anxiety, but contented themselves with stipulating that Carthage should not cross the Ebro and with 226.

guarding the independence of Saguntum and Emporiæ, two ports south of the Ebro, where they could land troops if necessary.

220. A few years later Hasdrubal was assassinated, and the command of the army fell upon Hannibal, then in his twenty-ninth year.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

No sooner was Hannibal appointed to the command of the Spanish army than he determined to carry out his father's design, and make Spain his base for an attack upon Rome. The Spanish province was in excellent order, and stretched to the Ebro; and he had a large army, well disciplined, and wholly devoted to him. Yet it was not upon his army that he relied chiefly in his proposed invasion, for he knew that numerically the Romans were greatly stronger than any force that he could bring against them. What he hoped for was that the Italian confederacy, which Rome had built up with such pains, would fall asunder. He knew that the Latins, Samnites, Bruttians, Celts, Tuscans and the rest had been in the main forced to join in the confederacy with Rome, and he hoped that just as the Numidians were disloyal to Carthage and glad of any occasion to revolt, so the subject members of the Italian confederacy would hail with gladness a chance to turn upon Rome. Events did not happen as Hannibal expected, for though outlying and lately-vanquished tribes like the Celts and Bruttians joined him, the Latins and other more important peoples who had become accustomed to Roman rule, and were not on the whole dissatisfied with it, surrounded the city as with a living barrier and shut their gates and their hearts against the foreign invader, until he had to retire discomfited. Nevertheless, the scheme was not wholly rash, and had the young general been better supported by Carthage it might even have been successful.

220.

Hannibal threw down the gauntlet by attacking Saguntum, 218.

one of the treaty ports, which after an eight months' siege he stormed and captured, in spite of the protests of Roman envoys. It was impossible for Rome to overlook this defiance, and when an embassy sent to Carthage had unavailingly demanded the surrender of Hannibal, a request with which the Carthaginians could scarcely have complied had they been ever so willing, war was declared.

Even now the Romans did not anticipate invasion, but thought that the war would be confined to Africa and to Spain, and that it would lie with them to take the offensive. Accordingly the consuls set out leisurely, Cornelius Scipio making for Spain by way of Marseilles, whilst Sempronius Longus sailed for Sicily, whence he meant to sail to Africa. But the Romans were quickly undeceived, for Hannibal set
219. out in the spring with 100,000 men, crossed the Ebro and made for the Pyrenees. He had hard fighting before he reached the mountains, and his army was reduced, partly by the fighting, partly by his allowing such soldiers as shirked the expedition, to return home. He made no delay, however, and when Scipio reached Marseilles he found that Hannibal was already at the Rhone. There was a four days' march between the armies, and when Scipio reached the crossing he found that Hannibal had passed and was nearing the Alps. Scipio, therefore, fell back on Marseilles, sent part of his army to Spain, and with the rest returned to Italy to find that Hannibal had crossed the mountains, and was in Cisalpine Gaul.

Meanwhile the Roman Senate had recalled Sempronius in all haste, but before he could reach Northern Italy with his forces, Scipio himself attempted to check Hannibal's onward career. His army was smaller than that of Hannibal, and he avoided a pitched battle, but in a skirmish at the Ticinus was defeated and wounded, after which he fell back on Placentia and waited the arrival of the other consul. Sempronius soon came up, and the united armies now lay upon the river Trebia, confronting Hannibal. It was December, and Scipio would

have preferred to avoid a battle, but Sempronius, who owing to Scipio's wound was in command, determined to end the matter, and, tempted by Hannibal, crossed the Trebia and fought at a disadvantage. The consequence was the utter rout of the Romans, followed by their retreat across the Apennines, and when Hannibal went into winter quarters it was with the comfortable assurance that the Celtic tribes were joining his army from every quarter.

Next spring Hannibal set out early on his march. Two 217.
Roman armies awaited him, barring what the consuls believed the only practicable routes southward. But Hannibal found a third, and though his army suffered greatly on the march, and he himself lost an eye by ophthalmia, he gained his point, and evaded the consul Flaminius, who was stationed at Arretium. Flaminius, piqued at being thus outwitted, and hearing that Hannibal was devastating the country, did not wait for the other consul to join him, but set out rapidly in pursuit of Hannibal, hoping to bring his career to an abrupt conclusion. This was just what Hannibal wanted, and waiting in ambush at the Trasimene Lake, he annihilated the Roman army. He might have easily marched upon Rome, but he knew that it was too strong to be successfully attacked by his forces. His hope lay not in sieges, but in the dissolution of the confederacy; and so, after the battle of the Trasimene Lake, he marched through Umbria to the Adriatic coast, where his troops enjoyed a much-needed rest.

Hannibal was now in an excellent position for observing Italy and seeing whether his victories would incline any of Rome's subjects to shake off her yoke, but so far his hopes were disappointed. Nor was he able during that year to distinguish himself again in the field. The Romans had elected Fabius dictator, and he adopted a waiting policy, avoiding a pitched battle, and trying to wear out Hannibal by watching him, cutting off stragglers, and making it hard to obtain supplies. But as Hannibal was ravaging the country on every side,

216. the Romans lost patience, and next year gave the consuls Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro a larger army than they had ever before put in the field, with orders to find Hannibal where they could and crush him. There seemed every probability of victory on this occasion, for the Roman army numbered 90,000 whilst Hannibal had but 50,000, all told. The consuls found the invader at Cannæ and determined on battle, advancing their infantry in a serried mass with cavalry on either wing. Hannibal met them with his army in the form of a crescent, the crown of which, composed of Celtic troops, was thrust forward, whilst the horns in which were his picked Spanish soldiers were drawn back. On one wing he posted his light cavalry, and on the other his heavy cavalry under Hasdrubal. At the first shock the Romans bore back the Celts, and pressed eagerly forward, thinking to obtain an easy victory. But as the Celts were borne back, the horns of the crescent began to close, and the Celts halting, the Romans found that they were now attacked on three sides. To make matters worse, the heavy cavalry under Hasdrubal having in their first charge scattered the Roman cavalry on one wing, and by a second dispersed the cavalry on the other wing, by a third attacked the Roman infantry in the rear, so that they were surrounded on all sides. So crowded were they that they could not use their arms, and they had to stand still and be cut to pieces. Seventy thousand Romans fell on that fatal day, amongst whom were the consul, and eighty men of senatorial rank. After the battle 10,000 men who had guarded the camp were taken prisoners, and to complete the tale of disaster, a legion which was proceeding to Gaul fell into an ambush and was destroyed.

After Cannæ Hannibal was sorely tempted to march on Rome, but he refrained, and the fact that he did so refrain is sufficient evidence that the siege of Rome was beyond the power of his army. Now indeed was the testing time. He could never hope to have a greater success in the field, and if the confederacy was ever to break up it must be now. For a

time it seemed as if his hopes would be realised. Capua revolted against Rome and admitted his troops, the smaller tribes of Southern Italy and many cities of Apulia joined his standard, Philip of Macedon made alliance and promised to land troops on the coast, and Hieronymus, who had succeeded Hiero in Syracuse, joined the Carthaginians. But Hannibal's foreign allies proved of no account, the Latin colonies which lay like fortresses throughout Southern and Central Italy did not swerve, and the Greek cities of South Italy and Campania remained loyal to Rome. Nay, more, although at first Rome had been panic-stricken, and it seemed as if she must succumb, the imminence of the danger brought out all that was best in the people, political differences were forgotten, and rich and poor became one in the endeavour to save the state. No effort was spared to put new legions into the field, every one over the age of boyhood was called out, criminals were released and armed, and 8,000 slaves enrolled as volunteers. When Hannibal offered to release his captives at a price, his offer was rejected, and he was given to understand that no negotiations could be held with him. The humblest Roman knew that peace was impossible until there was victory.

CHAPTER XII.

ROME AT BAY.

216. If brilliant generalship could have beaten Rome, the war would now have been over, for so far as Hannibal and his army were concerned there had been no failure, but greater success than the most sanguine could have hoped for. But a city like Rome, whose full-armed strength was even yet about half a million men, which was itself fortified, and had subject to it many fortified cities throughout Italy, was not vanquished because it had lost three important battles. Hannibal had two chances of victory. If the confederacy dissolved, as he fondly hoped it might, Rome would be at his mercy. Should this chance fail him there was another, if those upon whom he had a right to depend proved loyal to him and poured reinforcements without stint into Italy. As regarded the former of these chances Hannibal seemed doomed to disappointment. Capua and much of Southern Italy joined him, but the solid Latin wall which surrounded Rome showed no sign of breaking down. True he might dash hither and thither almost unopposed, but the cities which he would gladly have entered closed their gates, and his army was incapable of besieging the cities that still held to Rome, even in the provinces where his adherents were most numerous. Moreover, when communities such as Capua did join him, it was in half-hearted fashion, the people taking his side, whilst the nobles clung to Rome. As time went on, therefore, he began to see that so far as the dissolution of the Italian confederacy was concerned he had been building upon the sand.

Hannibal's hope that Italy would be flooded with armies

sent to his aid proved equally vain. There were four sources from which these might come—Spain, Carthage, Sicily and Macedonia. Carthage might easily have sent large reinforcements, but indolence, selfishness and jealousy prevailed, and 4,000 men were landed at Locri when 40,000 might just as easily have come. Hannibal's own brother Hasdrubal was in Spain, and spared no effort to help him, but he had ill-luck—the Roman armies were too strong for him, and when at length he forced his way through, it was almost too late. There seemed to be hope from Sicily for a time, for Hiero was dead and Hieronymus allied himself with the Carthaginians, but his motives were purely selfish, and he was speedily assassinated. Last of all Philip of Macedonia proved a bruised reed; whether from indolence or jealousy of the greatness of Hannibal we know not, but he failed to render him the slightest service. He made preparations, but never crossed the Adriatic, and the Romans, perceiving his purpose, raised such a storm against him in his own country that he was kept quiet until the crisis was fully past.

Although, therefore, the war lingered thirteen years longer, and Hannibal was never beaten in a pitched battle in Italy, Cannæ was his greatest success, and a turning-point in his career. The Romans had learned their lesson, they fought no more pitched battles with the African lion, they merely waited, and wore him out. Instead of despairing they braced themselves for more determined resistance. Something of their failure had been owing to the fact that their armies had been led by consuls, annually elected, instead of skilled generals; something more was owing to variance between the Senate and the citizens. This was perceived, and instead of wasting time in recrimination, all parties united to amend the errors of the past and to maintain an unbending attitude in the face of the common foe. Notwithstanding his victories, therefore, Hannibal's position did not improve. After Cannæ he marched on Campania and wintered in Capua; but next year Marcellus and the consuls with three armies engaged him there, and he had

some slight reverses, and great difficulty at all times in holding his own. During the next five years the power of Rome
212. steadily advanced, and that of Hannibal retrograded. Capua was blockaded by three Roman armies, with entrenched camps and fortified lines, against which Hannibal was powerless. When he found that he could not relieve the city he marched on Rome, hoping that the armies would raise the siege and give him the chance of another pitched battle, but they sat still, contenting themselves by merely sending a corps to watch his movements. They knew that his army was not suited for besieging Rome, and when he saw that the ruse had failed, he
211. retired to the south of Italy. Shortly after Capua capitulated, and the Romans took terrible vengeance upon the inhabitants.

The moral effect of the fall of Capua was immense, and
209. when, shortly after, the Romans also recaptured Tarentum, which had been siezed by Hannibal some years before, it was evident that the end was approaching. Hannibal had one ray of light from Spain. His brothers, Hasdrubal and Mago, had varied fortune there, but at last defeated and slew the
212. Scipios, and regained for Carthage all Spain south of the Ebro. For a time Roman fortune there was at a low ebb, nor was it improved by Nero who succeeded the Scipios, and proved a capable general but a bad diplomatist in a country which needed the one quite as much as the other.

210. At last the Senate sent Publius Scipio, the son of the general who had been wounded at Ticinus and killed in Spain. Scipio was only twenty-seven years of age, but he was clever, and quickly showed his fitness for the post by
209. surprising and capturing New Carthage with its stores and treasure. Next year he marched against Hasdrubal, who
208. was preparing to join his brother in Italy, and a battle was fought at Bæcula in which Scipio claimed the victory, but Hasdrubal got past him, crossed the Pyrenees, reached Gaul
207. safely and wintered there. Next spring he crossed the Alps and entered Italy. The Romans were alarmed, for the Gauls were joining his standard and there was unrest in Umbria

and Etruria. Great efforts therefore were made, twenty-three legions mobilised, and armies sent north and south to prevent a junction between the brothers. Nero had the task of intercepting Hannibal, and whilst the Roman and Carthaginian armies were facing each other, messengers from Hasdrubal to Hannibal were captured by Nero's outposts and brought to the general. From their despatches he learned Hasdrubal's movements and acted so promptly that Hasdrubal was defeated and slain whilst Hannibal was still waiting in Apulia. When the head of his brother was brutally thrown into Hannibal's camp he knew that his last hope had fled, and retreated to the south of Italy, whence he might escape to Africa at need.

Nothing shows the exhaustion of Rome more clearly than this, that after Hannibal's hopes had been blasted by his brother's death, he was able to hold his own in Bruttium for four years. The war had lasted for eleven years, and the Roman finances were in a deplorable state. The pay of the soldiers was in arrear, the fields were untilled, many citizens had been killed, many impoverished, and some communities declared themselves incapable of helping further, whether with men or money. Little wonder, therefore, if the army and navy were reduced, and the war allowed to flag. Yet all far-seeing men realised that there was but a momentary pause in the conflict. The war against Rome was over, that against Carthage had to begin, but Rome needed a breathing space.

Now that the tide had turned, the Carthaginians became alarmed and tried somewhat hysterically to make amends for past inaction. They had nothing now to divert their minds from Italy, for they had been driven from both Sicily and Spain, even Cadiz, the most ancient of Phœnician colonies there, having passed into Roman hands; whilst Scipio, who had completed his work in Spain, had now returned to Rome and was preparing to invade Africa. With some idea of making 205.
a diversion the Carthaginians sent Mago to Genoa, and when he had destroyed that city he endeavoured to rouse the Gauls

and Ligurians. Had he been sent earlier, even two years before, when Hasdrubal was there, the result might have been important, but the golden opportunity had been lost. Hannibal was now too weak to profit by the diversion, nor could the attack upon Carthage be delayed by it, even for a day.

Scipio was now in Sicily, preparing army and fleet for his
204. expedition, and at last he crossed and landed near Utica unopposed. There were rival Numidian kings, Massinissa and Syphax, and the former had been an ally of the Carthaginians, the latter of the Romans. The Carthaginians had, however, managed to reverse this, allying themselves with Syphax, and depriving Massinissa of his possessions, so that this able prince at once joined the army of Scipio, bringing with him only a few horsemen, but great ability, and undying hatred to Carthage.

Scipio was not at first successful and had to entrench himself during the winter, but in the spring he destroyed the Carthaginian camp in a night attack, and thereafter defeated the Carthaginians in a pitched battle. They now recalled Hannibal and Mago, and tried to make peace. Scipio offered reasonable terms, and many of the Carthaginians would have accepted them; but others, deriving fresh hope from the arrival of Hannibal (Mago having died on the voyage), determined on further effort, and the peace negotiations were broken off.

202. The final battle of the war was fought at Zama, on what is now the boundary line between Tunis and Algeria. The Carthaginians were defeated, Hannibal escaped with a handful of men, and Carthage lay at the mercy of the conqueror. But Scipio did not besiege the city, and at last terms of peace were arranged by which Carthage retained her territory, but surrendered her navy, agreed to pay an indemnity of 10,000 talents, about £2,500,000 sterling, and undertook never to wage war without the consent of Rome. The kingdom of Syphax, with much territory added, was trans-

ferred to Massinissa, so that Carthage had now her inveterate enemy for a neighbour.

The battle of Zama left Rome without a rival in the west, and it only remained for her to consolidate her position both at home and in those countries which had fallen to her by right of conquest. At home matters were settled with a high hand, and the allies of Hannibal treated with the utmost severity—the lands in Campania, Lucania, Apulia, Samnium and Picenum being confiscated, whilst the Bruttians were disarmed and permanently degraded, and colonies planted widely in order to make all secure.

In the north measures were yet more drastic. The invasion of Italy by Hannibal had interrupted the subjugation of the districts north of the Apennines, and this had now to be completed. The work was not accomplished without trouble, for the tribes fought hard for their independence, but after a few years the struggle was over. A difference was made between the treatment of the tribes north and south of the Po. The Transpadane tribes, the Insubres and Cenomani, were allowed to keep their cantonal independence and were not asked to pay tribute, but left as a bulwark to keep off the incursions of Celtic tribes from the other side of the Alps. The gates of the Alps were definitely closed against the Celts, and such was the dread of the Roman name that the prohibition was respected. The southern tribes were treated differently ; they lost their independence, colonies and fortresses were planted amongst them, their lands were confiscated, and they themselves merged with their conquerors. The pacification of these regions was, after the usual Roman method, facilitated by the construction of roads, the Via Flaminia being extended to Placentia, whilst another and shorter road was laid across the Apennines, so that Rome had now an alternative route to her northern province.

Spain had been conquered by Scipio, and divided into two provinces, Further and Hither Spain, but the country was not easily governed. The trading cities on the sea coast were glad

of protection, whether Roman or Phœnician, but the warlike tribes of the interior were not readily subdued. The Romans had to keep 40,000 men in the peninsula, and though the wars were not on a large scale they were constant, and sometimes the Romans had reverses. It was impossible for Rome to carry out her system of annual relief from military service in the case of Spain, and this led to dissatisfaction amongst the soldiers. The province was at last brought into order by
179. Tiberius Gracchus, who adopted a pacific policy, inducing the Spanish nobles to become officers in the army, and making equitable treaties with the various tribes, by which means he secured peace for nearly thirty years.

Gracchus also quelled an insurrection in Sardinia, but in a less reasonable way. The inhabitants of the interior made frequent attacks upon the coast ports, so he carried the war into their own districts, and slew or sold into slavery 80,000 islanders.

Rome had emerged from the long war a different state, changed for the better in some ways, for the worse in others. Before the second Punic war her ambition had been confined by the shores of the peninsula, for though she had seized the islands of the Western Mediterranean their acquisition might be accounted for on defensive principles. But she had now greatly enlarged her borders, having provinces in Spain, and a protectorate in Africa. Still it could not be contended that Rome had sought these things; she had fought in self-defence, and her new position had been thrust upon her. It now remained to be seen how she would meet those new responsibilities, whether, displaying true greatness of spirit, she would let the good of her subjects be her first consideration, or put her own selfish interests in the foremost place. Rome had reached the parting of the ways; and unfortunately, like every other military power the world has known, she took the wrong turning.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.

THE overthrow of Carthage, the settlement of Spain, and the complete subjugation of Italy cleared the political horizon for the Romans everywhere except in the east. More than once the east had forced itself unpleasantly upon Roman notice. First it was Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, whose ambitious 275.
projects had to be brought to nought; then came the Illyrian 230.
war and the rooting out of piracy from the islands of the Adriatic; and then, most serious of all, the troubles with Philip of Macedon during the invasion of Hannibal. Although Macedonia had fallen from the high position which it held at the time of Alexander's death, it was the most powerful of 323.
the Greek states, and Philip ruled not only over Macedonia but over Thessaly, Eubœa, Locris, Phocis, Doris and Corinth. He had therefore at his command a considerable force and had he been in earnest could have brought substantial aid to Hannibal. But though he allied himself with him, and 215.
made fair promises, he did nothing, for when he began to move, the Romans easily raised a coalition against him, which neutralised his efforts and prevented him from crossing 205.
to Italy. Some years afterwards a peace was arranged, and the first Macedonian war came to an end with little change on either side—except that the Romans now counted Philip as their enemy.

The same year in which peace was arranged between Rome and Philip, Ptolemy Philopator, the king of Egypt, died, and was succeeded by an infant son, Ptolemy Epiphanes. Now at the death of Alexander his dominions had been divided

into many sections, but these had gradually merged into three; Macedonia, under Philip; Syria, under Antiochus; and Egypt, under the Ptolemies. Philip and Antiochus thought they had a chance of increasing their realms at the
205. expense of the infant king, and conspired to partition Egypt, Antiochus proposing to seize Cœle Syria and Phœnicia, whilst Philip took Egypt's possessions in the Ægean and the Greek islands.

The Greek States of the mainland were divided into two leagues—the Ætolian, which was anti-Macedonian, and the Achæan which was subject to Macedonian influence; Sparta stood alone, governed by Nabis, a brigand; and the commercial cities such as Rhodes, Byzantium and Pergamus had an independent league, at the head of which stood Rhodes, and which was a prosperous and powerful confederation.

201. In accordance with his arrangement with Antiochus, Philip, aided by Prusias, king of Bithynia, crossed to Asia, captured Samos, attacked the towns on the Hellespont, and raided Pergamus, but his success went no farther for he was defeated by the combined fleets of the commercial league and Attalus of Pergamus, with the result that he returned to Macedonia for a time. This was the year when Rome made peace with Carthage; and, when that was settled, the Roman politicians, looking eastward, realised that this violent and unscrupulous man might if successful become as formidable an enemy as Hannibal had been. The Roman people were averse
200. to a new war, but when Philip invaded Attica, and some feared that the next step would be an invasion of Italy, they took up arms and the second Macedonian war began.

The Romans did not send a large force, and there is no reason to think that they contemplated permanent conquest; but they had a real dread of Philip and genuine sympathy with the Greeks. At first the war went in favour of Philip but not for long. His character had not been of a nature to enable him to gather allies, and Rhodes, Byzantium, Pergamus and
198. the states of the Ætolian league took the side of Rome.

After two campaigns Epirus and the Achæans also joined the Romans, and next year Flamininus fought the battle of Cynoscephalæ in which Philip was completely vanquished. 197. Further resistance was impossible, and a peace was arranged by which he relinquished most of his conquests, and undertook to make no foreign alliance without the consent of Rome. Some of the Greek states would have been glad had Macedonia been annihilated, but the Romans refused to go to this extreme, realising that Macedonia might from its position be a valuable bulwark against invasions of Celts and Thracians from the north, and a guarantee for the good behaviour of Greece itself.

Such possessions as Philip had in the south were divided amongst those who had supported the Romans, both Athens and the Achæan league receiving their share. Peace was not at once established, for Nabis with his freebooters defied the Romans at Sparta, but Flamininus at last compelled him to yield, though he left him his government. Finally, at the Isthmian Games Flamininus proclaimed the freedom of the Greek states and returned to Italy, taking his forces with 194. him.

Rome had gained much by this second war against Macedonia; having protected the Greeks from aggression, broken the power of Macedonia, and removed a danger from herself. She acted unselfishly in that she did not appropriate the spoil, but divided it amongst the Greek states whose freedom she had declared. Peace reigned, and all would have been well had the Greeks been able to avoid intestine feuds, and taken united action for the common weal. Unfortunately they did not act thus wisely, and Rome had much of the work to do over again.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SUBJUGATION OF THE EAST.

After Philip and Antiochus had arranged to divide Egypt's possessions between them, each of them set about securing his own share of the spoil. Antiochus had better fortune than
198. his partner, for he defeated the Egyptian general Scopas, near the sources of the Jordan, and gained possession of the country as far as the Egyptian frontier. The guardians of the boy king, Epiphanes, being alarmed, consented to an arrangement by which Cleopatra the daughter of Antiochus was to marry their king, and Antiochus was confirmed in the possession of the outlying districts which he had conquered. The Syrian king therefore returned to his court in triumph, just at the time when Philip was overthrown at Cynoscephalæ.
197. Philip's troubles did not distress Antiochus, for he saw in them a chance of personal advantage, and proceeded to occupy the districts of Asia Minor which Philip had intended for himself. These districts embraced the Greek cities, which Rome had declared free, and from which they had compelled Philip to withdraw.

The Rhodian League and Attalus the king of Pergamus had helped Rome against Philip, and believing that she would not desert them, they now resisted the aggressions of Antiochus. The Romans were loth to increase their responsibilities; they were weary of the prolonged wars, and did not see that it mattered much to them what happened beyond the Hellespont. Even when Antiochus crossed to Europe and began to turn Thrace into a satrapy, they confined themselves to diplo-
194. matic protest. Indeed, at this very time Flamininus was

withdrawing the legions from Greece and returning to Italy, but he acted too hastily, for his settlement of the affairs of Greece was but superficial. There were many discontented states, and if these chose to call in the help of Antiochus, there might yet be plenty of trouble for Rome, especially as Hannibal, driven by the Romans from Africa, was now at the court of the Syrian king.

Antiochus, realising that war was at hand, sought to 193.
strengthen his position by alliances with various friendly Asiatic states; he also endeavoured to conciliate the Rhodians and the inhabitants of the other Greek cities in Asia Minor. Meanwhile the Ætolians were pressing him to come to Greece, assuring him that the states there would rise, and promising an amount of support far beyond their powers. Hannibal also was urging him to take advantage of the opportunity and raise a general war against Rome. But though Antiochus was ambitious enough, he had none of the qualities of foresight or generalship necessary to enable him to cope with Rome. When, at last, encouraged by the withdrawal of the Roman troops, he crossed the Ægean, he brought with him only about 10,000 men—far too small a force for the work he had in hand—and to this force the Ætolians only added 4,000 192.
troops. To make defeat yet more certain, he disregarded the advice of Hannibal in every particular, and sent away the Carthaginian general—who on shore would have been a host in himself—to command a fleet at sea. The Romans determined 191.
to act quickly, and sent an army of 40,000 under Glabrio. Antiochus, incapable of meeting so great a force, retreated to Thermopylæ and entrenched himself, but managed so badly that he was easily beaten and had to take refuge in flight. He escaped by ship to Ephesus, thus abandoning Europe at the first reverse. At his desertion, such Greek states as had sided with him, submitted to Rome, and most of the fortresses also surrendered.

Antiochus was never likely to trouble the Romans in Europe again, but it was impossible for them to leave their Asiatic

allies in Pergamus, Rhodes and the Greek cities of the coast at his mercy, and it was decided, not without reluctance, to carry the war into Asia. The general chosen to lead the Roman legions across the Hellespont for the first time was Scipio, who was accompanied by his distinguished brother Africanus, and the way was cleared for them by Roman and
190. Rhodian fleets which at Myonnesus swept the sea clear of the enemy's ships. After this defeat Antiochus lost confidence in himself, and tried to make peace, but Scipio refused his terms and advancing southward fought a great battle at Magnesia, in
189. which Antiochus was utterly routed. In the peace which followed, Antiochus ceded all possessions in Europe, and everything in Asia west of the river Halys and Mount Taurus, and his rights of navigation and war were so curtailed that Syria ceased to be a great state. The Romans now tried so to settle Asia that it should give them no further trouble. West of the Syrian boundary as arranged by treaty lay Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Galatia, which would act as buffer states between Rome and Antiochus, and west of these lay Pergamus and Rhodes—states which had been faithful to Rome and were therefore generously treated, obtaining accessions of territory. Pergamus received the Thracian Chersonese, much of Asia Minor, and the protectorate over such Greek cities as were not declared free, and thus became a powerful state, capable of checking Syria and Macedonia, if the interests of Rome should so require.

Thus in a few years Rome had broken the power of Philip of Macedon and of Antiochus of Syria, the successors of Alexander, and had become installed as protector of Western Asia. Rome had no longer any foe of whom she need be afraid, and it was a pity that she went out of her way to hunt Hannibal to death. He was no longer young, and after the failure of Antiochus was not likely to do any further injury to Rome. Roman hatred however pursued him, and when he sought a refuge in various countries and found his enemies inexorable in their pursuit and on the point of capturing him

he took poison and so escaped their hands. He was sixty- 183.
seven years of age, and had fought against Rome from boyhood. Perhaps it would have been better for his country had he let Rome alone, and contented himself with developing the resources of Spain. But this way of working was not in harmony with the spirit of the age, nor is it likely that Rome herself would have long permitted such development. About the same time as Hannibal, Scipio also died, much younger, for he was only fifty years of age, but a mortified and disappointed man. He had, however, himself to blame, for his successes turned his head and he made so many enemies by his arrogance that he left Rome in disgust and at his death forbade that his remains should be carried to the capital for burial.

CHAPTER XV.

THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.

190. In marching against Antiochus, the Roman army had to pass through Macedonia and the adjacent districts, and their task would have been much harder had not Philip of Macedonia loyally helped them. In doing this he was actuated more by hatred of Antiochus than by love of Rome; nevertheless, he expected the Romans to show him some gratitude, and indeed deserved to be rewarded. The Romans did show their appreciation of his services to this extent, that they sent back the hostages which they held from him, and also returned certain tribute moneys, but when peace was made with Antiochus and the spoils came to be divided amongst the allies of Rome, Philip did not get the accession of territory which he had expected. Worse still, his mortal enemy, the king of Pergamus, was presented with the Thracian Chersonese, and his kingdom materially strengthened, evidently in order that it might be a check upon Macedonia.

It would have been suicidal for Philip to have at once shown his resentment, and he waited his time, preparing for a conflict with Rome by husbanding the resources of his country, and encouraging settlement, so that Macedonia continually increased in population and strength.

179. Philip died before he had a chance of again crossing swords with Rome, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, who went on with the preparations his father had begun. He tried to make alliances, and was on friendly terms with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and even with Antiochus. In most of the Greek states there was a reaction against Rome, and the

people were divided into two parties, the Roman and the Macedonian—the latter counting itself the patriotic party, and having Perseus for its hero.

So steadily did the influence of Perseus increase, that the 172.
Romans saw that unless they interfered he would speedily regain the power which it had taken two wars with his father to break, and so the third Macedonian war was begun. After the declaration of war Perseus showed much incapacity, for though he had ample time to organise an opposition to the Romans in every Greek state, and might have opposed the disembarkation of their forces, he did nothing. When, therefore, the legions landed without opposition, his allies fell from him in alarm, and he was left alone. Even then he might have made a brave stand, for he had a powerful army, and the Roman generals proved to be incapable men, but his generalship was beneath contempt, and for every mistake they made he made a greater. At last a new general, Æmilius Paulus, took 169.
command of the Roman forces, and the condition of affairs at once changed—a decisive battle being fought at Pydna in 168.
which the Macedonians were utterly overthrown. A few days after this defeat, Perseus surrendered and was taken to Italy, where he died.

This, then, was the end of the empire which Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander had founded nearly two centuries before. The Romans having given the monarchy a fair trial now abolished it, and divided Macedonia into four districts, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella and Pelagonia. On the principle adopted with some success in Italy, an attempt was made to isolate these communities by the prohibition of commercium and connubium between them. But methods which acted well in Italy where the communities were under continual observation were not suitable in Macedonia, and the arrangement proved, as we shall see later, so unsatisfactory that at last the Romans had to accept the responsibility of ruling the country themselves.

Having settled with Perseus, the Romans next dealt

with those states which had given him either material or moral support.

Illyria was split up as Macedonia had been; Rhodes was deprived of its possessions on the mainland, and its commercial supremacy threatened by the formation of a free port at Delos. Pergamus, no longer needed now that Macedonia was destroyed, was reduced to a condition of dependence; and when Eumenes, its king, hitherto a favourite at Rome, travelled to Italy to remonstrate, he was met at Brindisi and sent home again.

The Greek states were treated with great severity. Many leading Greeks, known to favour Macedonia, were transported to Italy; others were executed or massacred; in Epirus seventy towns were destroyed, and their inhabitants sold into slavery.

Whilst the third Macedonian war had been in progress, Antiochus Epiphanes, the king of Syria, attempted the conquest
168. of Egypt, and his army was lying before Alexandria when a Roman envoy arrived and ordered him to evacuate Egypt at once. He feared to disobey, and, when he had withdrawn, Egypt accepted a Roman Protectorate.

The chief part of the empire of Alexander had now fallen under the power of Rome. Just one century had elapsed since the Senate with great hesitation allowed an army to cross from Rhegium to Sicily, and thus abandoned the exclusively Italian policy which had previously governed the state; and now Rome was mistress of the Mediterranean and without a rival. Nor had she sought the position for herself. Up to the present point in history Rome had not been actuated by lust of empire, for it was because her sovereignty in Italy was imperilled that she had carried her armies to Africa, Spain, Greece and Asia. So far she had not been an aggressor, but had defended herself; for even the first step, the acquisition of Messina, had in it much of the nature of self-defence. But whilst Rome was to some extent guiltless, yet the line of policy which she had marked out for herself was of an essentially

selfish character, for she had determined to weaken every other nation in order that she might be safe. This was now the cardinal principle of her foreign policy, and it was not a farseeing principle, nor did it augur well for the happiness of the world which lay at her feet.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EFFECT OF IMPERIAL EXPANSION ON THE PEOPLE.

We have now reached an important epoch in the history of Rome. For a century the Romans had been engaged making an empire, and they had succeeded marvellously. Italy was united under their rule, Spain was pacified, Carthage crushed, Macedonia abolished, Egypt had become a protectorate, and Syria a state of the third rank. No civilised nation remained to dispute with Rome the sovereignty of the world. Moreover, as we have already seen, this empire had come in great measure unsought, and the conquering power had not shown more selfishness in the course of her century of conquest than was naturally to be expected.

We must pause for a moment and see what effect expansion of empire had upon the constitution and people of Rome—how far prosperity in foreign affairs brought happiness to the Romans and health to the state.

Rome was six centuries old, and had seen in that time many important constitutional changes. For two and a half centuries she had tried a monarchy, but it had not given satisfaction, and it had been displaced by an oligarchy—the patricians keeping control over the affairs of state, and dividing the spoil. As Rome expanded the plebeians increased in numbers and importance, until they could no longer be set aside, but became a corporation with their own assembly and officers; and after much struggling gained equality in the eyes of the law with the patricians, and became equally eligible for offices of state. For the moment, therefore, the government of Rome was on republican lines; and had the city remained at peace,

domestic reform would have progressed, and the government of the people by the people become an accomplished fact. But just as this seemed likely to happen the wars began; for many years Rome had no time to think of domestic reform, and when the wars were over the mischief was past mending—the constitution, the aristocracy and the populace were all on the downward road.

As regarded the constitution, the lex Hortensia had finally established the legislative power of the tribal assembly of the plebs. But during the wars this popular assembly might as well have been non-existent, so completely did the Senate gather all political power within itself. Nor was this so much because the Senate sought this ascendency as because the emergency required that it should be supreme. When a nation is engaged in war a popular assembly may indeed watch but can scarcely control, and it was impossible for a large and cumbrous body like the tribal assembly to decide by its "aye" or "no" the intricate questions which hourly arose. The Romans therefore wisely left the consideration of such questions to the Senate, until in time every question of first-class importance was decided by it. The Senate was not now confined to the patrician families, for these had dwindled in numbers, and a new aristocracy had arisen, embracing within its ranks not only the patricians but also wealthy plebeians and men who had distinguished themselves as officials. This gave the Senate great power, and it monopolised the government and controlled the magistracies. It became largely an assembly of officials, and Rome was ruled by a bureaucracy. It must be acknowledged that during the crucial period of foreign conquest which Rome passed through, the Senate did its work well, and it was because of this, and because there was evidently no better way of doing the work at the time, that the Romans acquiesced in what was practically the overthrow of the constitution. Nevertheless, this subversion of the constitution and suspension of domestic reform were part of the price the Romans paid for the expansion of the empire.

Unfortunately whilst power was thus falling back into the hands of an aristocracy, whether patrician or plebeian, the aristocracy was becoming less fit to wield it. In the earlier days Rome had governed herself, and those who came under her sway, with republican simplicity. Her consuls, generals, and envoys were plain men who left the plough to do her bidding, and returned to the plough when their work was done. During her Italian wars Rome had no need for governors of provinces. When she conquered she either left the vanquished their old right of self-government, subject to treaty, or merged them under the common rule, or destroyed them utterly. But after her great wars, it became necessary to govern distant provinces, and new difficulties arose. Had Rome developed a provincial civil service and administered her provinces largely by permanent officials, all might have been well, but this was not done. When a governor left Rome for his province he took with him his own friends as officials; they did not remain long enough in the country to take an interest in it or to learn the business of administration, and the temptation to make hay whilst the sun shone was too much for most of them. They were too far away to be adequately controlled, and though a tribunal was appointed to inquire into charges made against them, it was so entirely in the hands of their friends that they were protected no matter what their delinquencies might have been. The same was true of the Roman generals. When military men were pouring wealth into the treasury, it was no matter of surprise that they should make their own fortunes at the same time. Rome was becoming prosperous, and prosperity was trying her more than ever adversity did. She had now everywhere, at home and abroad, prizes worth the seeking, and the claimants were neither few nor scrupulous. The provinces acquired were rich in mineral wealth, pasture and grain-growing lands, and governors gave concessions and tracts of country liberally to their friends, whilst the indirect taxes and the customs dues were farmed to publicani who soon became millionaires. As the government was monopolised by

the Senate, most of the wealth fell into the hands of senators and their friends, and republican simplicity became a legend of the past. Men who had lived as kings abroad did not care to live as simple citizens when they came home, and the houses of the aristocracy were often palaces filled by hosts of dependants and slaves.

Unfortunately, whilst some persons had grown extremely rich, the masses of the people were becoming poor. Two causes operated in the impoverishment of the Roman people—the decline of agriculture, and the introduction of slave labour. Some of the provinces were exceedingly fertile, and produced grain in such abundance, that even when the cost of carriage was added it could be landed in Rome cheaply enough. But the governors of these provinces, for the sake of gratifying the people and obtaining their votes, frequently sent large gifts of grain to Rome, so that the people received it either at a nominal price or for nothing. No industry could compete against this, and the small farmers, who had lived by agriculture, drifted into Rome. Worst of all Rome enslaved some of the peoples whom she conquered and the curse of slavery fell upon Italy. The number of slaves increased to an alarming extent when Roman generals found that money could be made out of even the poorest tribes by sweeping them into the slave market. Slaves were soon employed everywhere—in country and town. It was cheaper for a land-owner to work his estate by slave labour than by the labour of freemen; and cheaper for a manufacturer to employ slaves than freemen in his factory, his shop or his counting-house. The results were those which have always followed the introduction of slavery. First, manual labour was looked upon as a degradation. No greater curse can fall upon a people than that it should despise manual labour and reckon idleness as synonymous with gentility. The evil was specially felt in Italy because the men doomed to slavery by the Romans were often better educated than their masters, so that they were not only fit to be used as

mere labourers but also as artisans, clerks, shopkeepers and managers. The slave not only followed the plough, but managed the estate. The result of this was ruinous to the Romans as a people. In early days there had been two classes in Rome—the patricians and the plebeians, and though there was friction between them, yet each class did its own work in its own way, and there was no room for idle men. There were now three classes; at one end of the social scale the rich, at the other end the slaves, and between them a mass of free citizens who had the franchise but were without occupation, too proud to dig, but not ashamed to live upon alms.

Matters were made worse by the treatment of the provincials after the Hannibalic wars—the Roman burgesses laying upon them far more than their share of state burdens. When to this oppression of the provincials we add the employment of slave labour on the farms, and remember that in Rome bread was to be had for nothing, we need not wonder if there was a drift of the population to the capital, so that it became overcrowded, whilst the country was denuded of free men.

The introduction of slavery on a large scale also led to the moral and religious degeneracy of the people. Traffic in human flesh always leads to immorality, and Rome was no exception to the rule. The old days of simplicity and austerity, the sacredness of marriage and the purity of family life had gone for ever, while luxury, slavery and vice walked hand in hand. With the ancient simplicity of life disappeared the ancient simplicity of religion. The early worship had been severely plain; the father was priest for the household, the king for the people. But now new gods, new beliefs and new forms of worship made their way into Italy. The Romans, like most idolaters, had been tolerant of the faith of others. The man who believes in many gods is *ipso facto* in favour of religious freedom, neither expecting nor desiring that other men should worship his patron deity. Accordingly Rome had been in the habit of opening its Pantheon to the gods of such nations as she conquered from time to time. So long as these

nations were simple folk this liberality did no harm, but as time went on her dominion spread over peoples more advanced than herself in wickedness, and the little leaven had leavened the lump. The worship of Bacchus, Cybele, and other gods was introduced, and abominable rites were practised in the name of religion.

This condition of things was the more harmful as the Roman populace monopolised such political power as was left to the people. Legally the rights of citizenship were widely distributed, but men who lived at a distance did not attend the Comitia, so that the election of magistrates and the passing of laws were in the hands of the citizens who resided in Rome and its suburbs. If therefore politicians were ambitious of office the first essential was that they should stand well with the populace, and their attempts to win them by gifts of corn, gladiatorial shows and bribery in every shape corrupted the people to a lamentable extent.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CRUSHING OF THE NATIONS.

We mentioned in a previous chapter that the Romans had divided that portion of Spain which they had won from the Carthaginians into two provinces, named respectively Hither and Further Spain. These provinces lay towards the east, and between them and the Atlantic there dwelt many unconquered tribes. That part of the peninsula which we now call Portugal was inhabited by a warlike people called the Lusitanians, who
154. invaded Further Spain and were at first victorious. Other tribes made common cause with them, and so serious did the Romans think the crisis that in order to send reinforce-
153. ments to Spain without delay they made their consuls enter office two and a half months before the usual time, thus changing the date of the consular year from the 15th March to the 1st January. Before the consuls reached Spain the Romans had been severely beaten, and even when they took
152. charge of the war they were at first unsuccessful. Next year Marcellus was sent who, being both an excellent general and an astute statesman, at length terminated the war—granting the enemy an honourable peace.

The pacific views of Marcellus did not suit his successors Lucullus and Galba, and they reopened the war, and carried it
151. on with unexampled perfidy and cruelty. During this period
149. a hero arose amongst the Lusitanians named Viriathus, a man of humble origin but possessed of remarkable qualities both physical and mental. For some years he had great success against the Romans, but at last they bribed his officers to assassinate him. After his death Lusitania was easily subdued,

but rebellions broke out in other provinces, and especially in the north. The insurrection eventually concentrated in the city of Numantia where the consul Quintus Pompeius was 141.
severely handled and had to make a dishonourable peace which the Senate refused to ratify. Accordingly war continued for eight years more, until the brave city, besieged by Scipio Æmilianus, surrendered to famine and was razed to the ground. 133.
Many of the inhabitants had already perished, others killed themselves before the surrender, the survivors were sold into slavery. A guerilla warfare continued on a small scale, but Spain was now comparatively peaceful, and became one of the most prosperous of the Roman provinces.

Thirteen years before the fall of Numantia a much greater city had been destroyed. Enjoying the blessings of peace, 201.
Carthage, after the manner of great trading cities, had recuperated rapidly, so rapidly indeed that the jealousy of the Romans was kept continually alive. Hannibal had shown so much administrative ability when he was head of the state for a few years after Zama that the heavy contribution demanded by Rome was paid without trouble, and the city seemed entering upon a new era of prosperity. The great general was the first victim to Roman jealousy, his surrender was demanded, and when he fled to the east his property was confiscated and his house destroyed. One would have thought Carthage might now have been left in peace, but this was not to be. Stories were brought to Rome, telling of the wonderful progress of her commercial rival, and though a few Romans were enlightened enough to perceive that the prosperity of Carthage could be made to minister to that of Rome, the mercantile community, which was becoming increasingly selfish and narrow-minded, could only see in the development of Carthage a menace to themselves.

The treaty of peace made with Carthage seemed framed with the deliberate intention of driving the city to despair. Rome had taken under her protection Massinissa, king of the Numidians, whose territory surrounded that of Carthage on all

sides, and he was encouraged to make frequent encroachments on the territory of the Carthaginians, and to enlarge his boundaries at their expense, whilst they were sternly prohibited from making war upon him. They appealed to Rome from time to time, and commissions were sent, but they gave no redress. Marcus Cato being sent on one of these commissions was so astonished at the grandeur of Carthage that he returned determined to have the city destroyed. The best men in Rome opposed his cruel suggestion, but Cato's views got much support amongst the merchants who hoped to reap financial benefit by the downfall of a city which they counted a commercial rival.

A pretext for war was, therefore, sought by the Romans
154. and soon found. Another quarrel arose with Massinissa, originating in a case of barefaced encroachment, but the wily Numidian submitted the question to Rome, and took occasion to point out that the Carthaginians were collecting stores and troops and preparing for war in violation of their treaty. Meanwhile his encroachments went on, and he laid siege to a Carthaginian city, so that they had no alternative
152. but to make war upon him. The Carthaginian general was incapable and Massinissa was victorious, but the Romans had now the long desired opportunity to destroy their victim. Carthage sent an embassy to Rome to explain how war had been forced upon her, but the explanation fell upon deaf ears. The Romans had made up their minds—Carthage must be blotted out.

149. Even after the purpose of Rome was sufficiently manifest and a huge army had landed in Africa, the Carthaginians struggled to escape from the net which encircled them. They offered to make peace on any terms whatever, and when ordered to send 300 hostages as a preliminary they at once complied. Then the consuls at the head of the army insisted on complete disarmament, and this command was also obsequiously obeyed. When the disarmament had been carried out, the consuls threw off the mask and informed the wretched citizens

that their city was to be destroyed, but that they might settle anywhere else they liked, so long as the place chosen was ten miles from the sea. At this brutal intelligence the Phœnicians turned upon their enemy with the fury of despair.

Deluding the consuls with negotiations they gained a few weeks of breathing space and during that time the inhabitants, man, woman and child, worked night and day to replace the arms which had been surrendered, and to restore the defences which had been dismantled ; and when the consuls at last advanced, expecting to find the city an easy prey, they found its gates barred and its walls covered with armed men. Carthage was naturally a strong city, being surrounded on three sides by the sea, and the consuls made little progress with the siege.

Next year new consuls, Mancinus and Piso, were sent, but 148.
they did no better than their predecessors, and had the generalship of the Carthaginians been equal to the earnestness of the inhabitants things might have gone very badly for Rome. At last, however, the Romans made a supreme effort, sending 147.
Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted son of the Scipio family, who had already distinguished himself in Spain. With Scipio's appointment there was a change. The siege was renewed with energy, an important suburb was captured, and the city invested by land and sea, so that famine and pestilence soon fought on the side of Rome.

At length an entrance was forced, but even then for six 146.
days the citizens fought from house to house, from street to street. When the remnant took refuge in the citadel Scipio had the surrounding streets levelled and burnt, and in the conflagation many, who had hidden in the cellars of the ruined houses, were burned to death. A deputation came from the citadel to plead for bare life, and, when it was granted, 50,000 emaciated wretches issued forth. Nine hundred stayed in the citadel, and these setting fire to the temple in which they had assembled perished in the flames. By command of the Senate the entire city was razed to the

ground, and when the ruins had burned for seventeen days the plough was passed over the site.

The Carthaginian territory was turned into a Roman province, under the administration of a governor who made Utica his capital. Massinissa had died during the siege, so his dominions were divided between his sons, who acknowledged Roman suzerainty. The Roman merchants flocked to Utica, and greedily began to turn to account the province which Rome had acquired with so much barbarity.

After the battle of Pydna the Macedonian monarchy was terminated, and the country divided into four independent
167. districts. The arrangement did not work well, and a pretender arose, who declared himself the son of Perseus, and who, after gaining some successes, was hailed as king by all Macedonia and even mastered a portion of Thessaly. This
149. pretender, whose real name was Andriscus, was victorious over Juventius the Roman prætor, but the next year he was
148. completely defeated by Metellus and captured, after which Macedonia was made into a Roman province. Some years later Alexander, another pretender, arose, but he was overcome by the Romans without difficulty, and after that Macedonia made no further sign.

In their first settlement of the affairs of Greece the Romans had acted generously, declaring the states free, but they did not sufficiently realise the divisions that existed between the states and were too precipitate in the withdrawal of their forces. As a consequence some of the states joined Antiochus a year or two after, and every insurrection against Roman power had its sympathisers amongst the Greek states, so that there was no finality, and little gratitude to Rome
147. for her forbearance. Rome therefore changed her methods. During the last Carthaginian war the Achæan League had held a conference at Corinth, and in defiance of the efforts of the Roman envoys determined to go to war with Sparta. The Romans sent Mummius with an expedition and the

army of the league was defeated at Leucopatra, whereupon the cities of the league submitted and Mummius entered Corinth in triumph. The Romans sent ten senators to settle the affairs of Greece with Mummius and in most things they acted wisely, but they had one barbarous mission to perform. This was the year in which Carthage was destroyed, and the Senate ordered Mummius to treat Corinth in the same way. He accordingly removed some of the works of art for which the city was famous and then burned it to the ground.

The deed was the more horrible because it was done at the instigation of the mercantile party from selfish motives. When Carthage was destroyed there was at least this excuse, that the city had been a danger in the past and might become a danger in the future; but there was no such excuse with regard to Corinth. The city was destroyed, partly, no doubt, as a warning to the Greeks; but principally, it is to be feared, because it was the first commercial city in Greece—a rival, as the Roman merchants ignorantly thought to themselves. The destruction of Carthage and Corinth in one year shows how sadly Rome was drifting. Bad though the lust of empire may be, the lust of gain is worse. Rome had conquered the world for her protection; she was now destroying it to satisfy her greed.

It will be remembered that the kings of Pergamus, at first favoured by the Romans, had afterwards been treated with less consideration. The royal family came to an end, 133.
and its last member left a will bequeathing his kingdom to Rome. The Romans accepted the bequest, and thus the Roman province of Asia began, becoming eventually the most lucrative of all the provinces, and furnishing "an inexhaustible field for money making in every form".

Before passing from this period it should be noted that during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes in Syria there was much religious persecution, the king foolishly endeavouring to crush out the national religions. Two of the subject nations strenuously resisted. The Jews, led by the famous Maccabæan 167.

family, broke into revolt and held their ground against all the forces Syria could muster; and the Parthians, under Mithridates I., severed themselves from Syria, and, conquering the surrounding provinces, began a political movement destined to be of far-reaching importance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GRACCHI.

ROME had now been engaged in foreign warfare for a century and a half, and during that period the Senate had been the ruling body, and had done its work, if not always well, at least better than the popular assembly could have done it. For the Roman popular assembly was not a gathering of representatives of the people, who could sit continuously and deliberate calmly, but a gathering of the people themselves, or such of them as were to be found in Rome, and without great reform it could hardly have become a useful instrument of executive government in a time of public peril. The Senate was a less cumbrous body, and as the danger of the wars, especially of the Hannibalic, united all classes in a bond of national zeal, the Senate did its duty. When, however, the strain of the wars was over, and the provinces which Rome had acquired offered wide opportunities for gain, the senators became less patriotic, and as the generation which had known Rome in her humbler times passed away, less worthy men took their places, men who only thought of wealth, and of the preservation and increase of their privileges. Unfortunately success in foreign conquest may run parallel with much domestic misery, and Rome was getting into a lamentable condition at home. In earlier times her wealth had been mainly agricultural, and her freeholders had been her bulwark. It was the small farmers who had fought her battles with such stoutness of heart and strength of arm, and if any class of the community deserved special consideration it should have been extended to them. But the trend of events had been the other way. The reasons

for this have been dealt with in a previous chapter, but we may again note that the chief instrument of their ruin had been the introduction of slaves in such numbers that it had become cheaper to use slaves than free labourers. The nobles and capitalists bought up land wherever they could, and cultivated their huge estates by slave labour, so that poorer citizens lost their chance of employment. At the same time it was common for governors of provinces to increase their popularity by sending great supplies of grain to Rome for distribution amongst the people, at the expense, of course, of the subjects who had raised it. Those two things, the impossibility of finding work in the country and the cheap food and excitement to be had in Rome, drew the people there continually; but as slaves were used in the shops and factories of Rome as freely as on the estates in the country there was little for the freemen to do, and they became dependants upon the wealthy, until at last the capital was thronged with idle people becoming more worthless every day. It would have been a terrible state of affairs under any circumstances, but it was the more terrible seeing that this Roman mob was aspiring to rule the world.

There were in Rome men who saw how the state was drifting, and some of them tried to provide a safety valve by establishing colonies, and distributing vacant lands in the districts which had been conquered, and from which the inhabitants had been expelled, and by these means the congestion had been occasionally relieved. But the settlements did not always prosper, for the colonists were often unfit to be farmers, and they gravitated back towards Rome. At last even these spasmodic efforts ceased, and the social and economic condition of affairs in Rome became worse and worse.

The mischief was not confined to the capital, for the influence of Rome was now widespread. The methods which were ruining the freemen of Italy also played havoc in the provinces. Sicily, for instance, had been divided amongst Roman capitalists, and the island was covered with plantations

and pasture lands worked by gangs of slaves with a cruelty to which no parallel is found in modern slavery. The slaves were treated like brutes; they could be bought so cheaply that their lives were of little consequence to their masters, and they could be worked to death with impunity. In the Southern States of America good slaves were always expensive, and though there were bad owners there as elsewhere, yet most masters treated their slaves humanely even from self-interest. In Sicily the treatment of slaves was barbarous in the extreme, and as they were very numerous there were frequent riots. At length a rebellion broke out under Ennus and Cleon, and 135.
70,000 slaves were in arms at one time. The Roman prætor was routed, and the Romans had three years of fighting before they ended the war by the capture of the strongholds of Tauromenium and Enna, and the crucifixion of 20,000 slaves. Thus, whilst Rome was supreme over the world, she had need to set her own house in order. She was exchanging a free for a slave proletariate, and her burgesses were becoming an idle rabble. Her subjects in the more distant provinces lay at the mercy of governors, concessionaires and tax farmers. Her Italian subjects had to bear more than their share of the burden, and yet were without the franchise and every other right of which they could be deprived. And to make matters still more desperate, at the head of affairs stood a Senate which had become hopelessly corrupt and wholly self-seeking, and a popular assembly representing only the worst section of the Roman people.

Such, then, was the condition of things when Tiberius 133.
Gracchus the Tribune entered the lists as a reformer. He was the grandson of Scipio Africanus, the son of Sempronius Gracchus, who had been consul forty years before. His mother, Cornelia, was one of the most accomplished women of the age, and his sister was married to Scipio Æmilianus, the general who had been sent by the Senate to destroy Carthage. Tiberius Gracchus was, therefore, a man of some influence, and the measures he proposed were of a serious character. Recognising

that the agrarian difficulty was the most pressing, he devoted himself to it first. The public lands of Italy had been absorbed by nobles and capitalists ; some of it for private cultivation,
377. some of it for grazing purposes. Many years before, an attempt had been made to prevent this appropriation; and citizens had been forbidden to occupy more than a definite amount of public land, or to turn out more than a limited number of cattle and sheep on the common pasture, but the law had not been observed. Tiberius Gracchus proposed that the law should be enforced, that the occupation of common land should be restricted to a definite area, and that the surplus should be divided amongst the citizens in inalienable lots—the new occupants sitting at a moderate rent and on permanent lease. A board of three commissioners was appointed to carry out the scheme.

Of course, this redistribution of land was not a matter which could be carried into effect without causing grievances to arise. Many had been in possession of their lands for a long time, and thought it was hard that they should be ousted. But their possession had originated in defiance of the Licinian law, and in any case it was better that large capitalists should suffer a diminution of income than that the state should be ruined.

Part of the speech in which Tiberius Gracchus introduced his measure is on record.

"The wild animals of Italy," he said, "have their dens and lairs, the men who have fought for Italy have air and light, nothing more. They are styled masters of the world, though they have not a clod of earth they can call their own."

From the beginning the Senate espoused the cause of the landholders and fiercely opposed the reform. They found an ally in Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, who vetoed the proposals, but when Gracchus saw that there was no other way, he got the assembly to depose his colleague and thus carried the measure. The senators made no secret of their determination to have vengeance, and Tiberius Gracchus, aware of his

danger, only appeared in public well guarded, a precaution which added fuel to the flame. Roman offices of state were annual; and though a tribune was inviolable during his year of office, he could be impeached as soon as it was over. As the senators declared their intention of impeaching Gracchus, he knew that his only chance of safety lay in re-election, and with this view made further proposals for the benefit of the people; but when the election day came there were fierce riots in which he and 300 of his adherents were killed. This was a terrible day for Rome. Though contests between the classes and the masses had extended over centuries, civil bloodshed had hitherto been avoided, but the charm had been broken, and during the next century there was enough and to spare.

Although Tiberius Gracchus was assassinated, his law had been passed, and the Senate dared not obstruct its operation. The commissioners accordingly began to carry it into operation, working with so much energy that in six years the number of burgesses had increased by 76,000. So far the application of the law was beneficent, though doubtless there were cases of individual hardship, but the commissioners went too far, and began to deal with lands occupied by Latins, upon which the Latins, who had already enough to bear, appealed to Scipio 129.
Æmilianus to interfere on their behalf. Scipio accordingly had a decree passed to suspend the distribution until the matter was further considered. Scipio had reason on his side, for interference with the Latin communities might have led to revolution, but doubtless his action gave offence to those who wanted the division to proceed. In the midst of the discussion he was found dead in his bed, but it is not known whether he was assassinated or not.

The distribution of land was not resumed after the death of Scipio, but the democratic agitation went on under the leadership of the men who had been carrying out the work. Flaccus proposed to give citizenship to the Italians, but could not carry his point, both Senate and citizens being against

him. The citizens were willing to support any reform which filled their pockets, but refused to allow others to share, for they regarded Roman citizenship as a privilege bringing with it substantial perquisites, and concluded that the fewer there were of them the better they would fare.

The rejection of the proposal of Flaccus caused such outcry in Italy that the Latin colony of Fregellæ, which had voiced the feeling of the Italians in this matter, and was the second city in Italy, revolted. But the revolt spread no farther. Fregellæ was surprised, captured, deprived of its walls and privileges and turned into a village. Its fate alarmed the rest of the Italians, and they held their peace.

123. Next year Gaius Gracchus, the younger brother of Tiberius, returned from Sardinia, and was elected tribune. With high ability and determination, he went forward on the path of reform, knowing that like his brother he would probably have to pay for his enterprise with his life. He was tribune for two years, and worked very earnestly. The laws which he passed were numerous, and affected many classes. Knowing that the Senate had killed his brother, and would probably kill him, he tried to break its power. The aristocracy of Rome was composed of two sections—the one representative of birth, the other of wealth. Rome was rich, and had her bankers, shipowners, merchants and public companies, just as we have them to-day. Gracchus thought that he might divide the Senate by conciliating the moneyed interest; and he established the "equites," an order of moneyed men with special privileges, and also changed the system of tax collecting in Asia, putting the taxes up to auction, and thus opening a new field for capitalists. In order to keep the poorer citizens on his side, he started monthly doles of corn, thus tempting men to remain in Rome and furnish him with a bodyguard and a majority in the assembly. These were not good laws, but they were passed by him in order that his position might be secure enough to enable him to go farther.

He aimed at restricting the power of the Senate and

restoring to Roman citizens the political freedom to which they had attained before the wars, when, after long effort, the plebeians had been raised to a level with the patricians. Since that time the Senators had usurped the functions of government, and Gracchus determined to break down their authority as much as he could. He took from them the control of the court which had been established for the trial of charges of misgovernment in the provinces. He also took away their power to inflict summary punishment on Roman citizens; and he ordered that jurymen should no longer be chosen from the senators, but from the class of "equites" which he had recently organised.

For the relief of the people he renewed the agrarian law which his brother had passed, though the renewal had no practical effect. He planted colonies at Tarentum and Capua, and also proposed to establish a transmarine colony to be called Junonia, on the site of Carthage. The idea of colonising beyond the sea was novel, and might have been fruitful of good, but after his death it was abandoned for a time.

Had Gaius Gracchus confined himself for a year or two to measures which operated for the special advantage of dwellers in Rome, he might have kept his position and increased his 122.
power. But in his second tribunate his sense of justice made him attempt to extend the franchise to the Latins, and to improve the condition of the Italian communities generally. This was common justice and would have benefited the state, but the Roman citizens, thinking it would interfere with their interests, rejected the proposal. The Senators, encouraged by this rejection, and taking advantage of the absence of Gracchus at Carthage, whither he had gone to found the new colony, did their utmost to further undermine his influence and brought forward laws they had no intention of passing, merely to outbid him with the mob.

When therefore Gracchus returned and stood a third time for the tribunate he was not elected, and as soon as he had

121. laid down office the attack upon him began. The Senate proposed to cancel all that had been done concerning the colony at Carthage; and when Gracchus opposed the motion, a riot ensued. Next day Opimius the consul came to the Senate surrounded by an armed force of the aristocracy and their dependants, and Gracchus with his adherents had to take refuge on the Aventine. In the struggle which ensued, the Gracchans were worsted, and though Gaius escaped he was found dead next day. After his death his supporters were hunted down without mercy—3,000 of them being strangled in prison.

Thus the aristocratic party again triumphed, and the democracy again betrayed their benefactor; while as a climax upon folly and hypocrisy, Opimius, the consul, raised a new temple and dedicated it to Concord, as if Gracchus had been the chief disturbing element in the state. But wise men were not deceived, and in spite of prohibition the memory of the Gracchi was held in veneration in Rome. As for the legislation which Gaius Gracchus had set on foot, the Senate left the bad laws untouched and repealed the good. With the doles of corn they did not interfere, nor with the farming of the taxes in the province of Asia; but the colonising projects, which had in them so much of promise, were annulled, and the franchise was not extended to the Latins. Shortly after this a law was passed imposing a fixed rent on the possessors of public land; but, somewhat later, another law abolished the rent, and made the land private property. Moreover, the holders of the lots which by the law of Tiberius Gracchus had been made inalienable were allowed to sell, so that the land fell back into the hands of capitalists and the evil results became as great as in former times.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RISE OF MARIUS.

THE massacre of Gaius Gracchus and his followers left the 121.
popular party without a leader, and the Senate resumed its old position—so far as was possible under the changed circumstances of the time. It was no longer, however, the assembly that it had been during the wars. At that period it had, amongst many worthless members, a few great ones and these had been allowed to govern ; but now all were alike incapable. Aware of their own weakness, they showed themselves as eager to conciliate the Roman burgesses as Gracchus had been, so that bribery by doles of corn went on as before. As for the burgesses they became poorer than ever, until it was said that amongst the whole of them there were not two thousand well-to-do families.

The incapacity of the Senate soon showed itself in the affairs of government both at home and abroad. Slave insurrections were frequent, and pirates abounded in the Mediterranean ; whilst in the provinces, officials, tax farmers and concessionaires systematically plundered the people. Serious trouble was inevitable, and the only question was from what quarter it would come.

The first storm cloud broke upon the Romans in Africa. On the death of Massinissa, his three sons Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanabal shared his possessions. The last two died and Micipsa reigned over all, leaving much power in the hands of Jugurtha, his nephew, a man of unusual capacity, and a worthy descendant of his redoubtable grandfather, Massinissa. Micipsa, before he died, divided his realm be- 118.

tween his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and his nephew. Hiempsal was assassinated, and there was war between Adherbal and Jugurtha. Adherbal was worsted and fled to Rome to plead his case. Jugurtha, however, understood the Romans, and his representatives bribed the senators to decree a division of territory between the claimants entirely in his favour. But Jugurtha, coveted the whole, and, having besieged Adherbal in Cirta, in spite
112. of Roman protest, he captured the city and slaughtered the inhabitants. Among these there were Italian merchants, so that the government could not overlook the offence. They accordingly declared war against Jugurtha, but when the army reached Africa he bribed the general to make peace on the basis of a nominal submission and fine. This being too barefaced, however, for the Roman people to tolerate, a motion was carried in the Senate demanding that
111. he should appear in Rome to answer complaints. Jugurtha came under a safe conduct, but used his gold so freely that nothing was done to him. It happeend that another grandson of Massinissa living in the city at this time, dared to put forward his claim to the kingdom, on which he was at once assassinated by Jugurtha's agents. This outrage in Rome itself could not be borne—the African was ordered away, and war renewed.

110. The new campaign was conducted on the Roman side by Spurius Albinus, but he did nothing effectual, and when he returned to Rome for the elections, leaving the army in the care of his brother, the latter was routed and had to agree to terms of peace laid down by Jugurtha.

The news of this disaster almost raised a revolution in Rome, the treaty of peace was cancelled, and a new general,
109. Quintus Metellus, believed to be above suspicion, was sent to Africa. Amongst his officers was Gaius Marius, a man of humble origin but an excellent soldier. Jugurtha now saw that the Romans were in earnest, and gave battle to them at the river Muthul, but was severely defeated, and had to resort

to guerilla warfare, at which he was an adept. Although Metellus overran Numidia, he failed to capture the African king, or to inflict any great injury upon him.

Whilst the war was thus dragging, Marius asked the per- 107.
mission of Metellus to return to Rome to stand for the consulship; and when he got there, he made so many adverse criticisms with regard to the progress of the war under Metellus, that the people superseded that general and appointed Marius in his place. Metellus, therefore, returned home, but for a time Marius did little better, and would have probably lost both army and life on one occasion but for the bravery of Sulla his cavalry officer. Next year Marius entered into negotiations with Bocchus, another African prince, whose daughter was married to Jugurtha, and bribed him to betray his ally and son-in-law. In these negotiations Sulla took a leading part, and they were successful. Jugurtha was betrayed, brought to Rome in triumph and, in accordance with Roman custom, was allowed to perish in prison. This African war, which lasted for twelve years, served to illustrate the unfitness of the Senate to guide the commonwealth. But for their incapacity it would never have been begun, and but for their corruption it could have been speedily finished. Sulla got most of the credit for bringing the war to a conclusion; and Marius, his superior officer, was sore displeased.

The Roman territories now extended widely—in Italy to the Alps, in Spain to the Pyrenees, and in Macedonia to the Balkans. Beyond these ranges Europe was inhabited by warlike tribes, who from time to time raided territory, which if not actually Roman was at least under protection. Thus frontier wars arose, and various Roman generals, crossing the boundaries of the empire, subdued and weakened the adjacent tribes. But instead of the empire being strengthened thereby, a contrary effect was produced, for this weakening opened the way for yet more warlike tribes to move southward from the shores of the Baltic. At first they came slowly, but at last in great numbers, not so much the invasion of an army as the

movement of a people—one of those vast migrations which have so much affected the history of Europe. These tribes, the
113. Cimbri and Teutones as they were called, fell in with a Roman
109. army near the city of Noreia and defeated it; and when, four years after, they met with Silanus in Southern Gaul they overcame him also.

108. Scaurus was the next to suffer, and after him Longinus, who
107. was entrapped in an ambush by the Helvetii and had most
105. of his army destroyed. Two years after, two Roman armies, commanded by Cæpio and Gnæus Maximus, faced the invaders in Gaul, but the generals quarrelled; and, attacking incautiously, were utterly defeated—80,000 Romans being slain. This was the battle of Arausio (Orange), the most serious disaster that had befallen the Romans since Cannæ. Had the Cimbri at once advanced on Rome the city might have fallen, but they turned westward and fell upon the adjacent Gallic tribes, so that Rome had time to prepare herself for a fresh effort.

The battle of Arausio was fought just at the time that Marius was returning to Rome from Africa; and amid the storm of wrath which fell upon the Senate the popular party
104. again elected Marius as consul, and entrusted him with the conduct of the war against the Cimbri. The consulship thus given was renewed five years in succession—a departure from precedent which had important results.

Marius was an able soldier, popular with his men, and knowing well how to manage them. He had married into the great Julian family, but was of humble birth, illiterate, and detested the aristocracy. He carried out reforms in military affairs which changed the character of the army. It had, in fact, been changing ever since the days of Hannibal. Now that Rome had so many distant provinces it was impossible for citizens to fight and work alternately, and soldiering was becoming a trade. Marius accordingly substituted voluntary enlistment for the levy of the citizens. He went farther and democratised the army, opening it to all citizens without

regard to property, and promoting men according to merit—not according to rank or wealth. By these reforms the army was improved as a fighting machine, but severed from the civil authority, and brought more under the general's personal control. It now only needed that his appointment should be either permanent or continued for a number of years, to give a commander a power over the soldiery which might prove fatal to republican institutions.

Marius entered Gaul, and as the invading tribes were busy elsewhere, he had time to organise his army and fortify his position. The Cimbri had been strongly reinforced by the Teutones and Helvetii, and they divided into two forces—the Teutones arranging to invade Italy by the coast road, whilst the others crossed the Alps farther eastward. Marius was strongly entrenched, and when the Teutones found they could not drive him from his position they rashly determined to pass him by. When after six days they had all marched 102.
past, Marius struck his camp and followed, watching his opportunity. It came, near the town of Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix, where after a severe struggle the Teutones were utterly cut to pieces.

The danger was not yet wholly over, for the other body, consisting mostly of the Cimbri, had crossed the Alps and was in the Po Valley. Marius went first to Rome, and thence 101.
hurried to the north to join Catulus, the proconsul, who was commanding there. Battle was given in the Raudine Plain, and the Cimbri were annihilated.

Marius was now deservedly the hero of the hour. He had finished the war in Africa, had saved Italy from the barbarians, and some thought he might perhaps reform the state. But though as a military specialist he was second to none, his ability ended there. He was a rough man, with the manners of the camp, a poor speaker, and without any statesmanship. The alarm caused by the threatened barbarian invasion had led to his being elected consul five times, and though this was contrary to custom, the re-election was justified by the circum-

stances of the case, but now that the subjugation of the Cimbri was accomplished, it would have been better for him had he laid down his consulship. It was the more desirable that he should retire, as the leaders of the popular party with whom his name must be associated, were not at this time estimable men, yet he allowed himself to be nominated as one of a
100. coalition of three, and the election was carried—Marius being consul ; Saturninus, tribune ; and Glaucia, prætor.

Saturninus at once brought forward measures of importance. Lands were to be given to the soldiers who had fought for Marius in Gaul and in Africa ; colonies were to be founded, and the Italian allies and Roman burgesses were to share alike. A clause was appended to the law compelling all Senators to swear to observe its provisions within five days or be exiled. This clause gave great offence, but the presence of the soldiers of Marius was an unanswerable argument, and all took the oath except Metellus, who preferred to suffer exile. During this year the popular party carried things in high-handed fashion, and Marius could neither agree with them nor keep them in check, so that he made enemies on both sides ; and, when the next elections came, Saturninus and Glaucia stood for the tribuneship and consulship without him. The senatorial candidate for the latter office was Memmius, who was murdered before the election, whereupon the Senate called upon Marius to interfere. Marius complied, and the senators and their supporters armed and assembled in the Forum. Saturninus and Glaucia also flew to arms, and a battle was fought in the market-place, in which the adherents of the popular party were beaten. Marius tried to save the lives of Saturninus and Glaucia by imprisoning them in the Senate House, but the young Senators climbed upon the roof, broke it open, and stoned them to death with the tiles. Thus violence was met by violence, the Senate was victorious, and the laws which had been so recently passed were set aside. As for Marius, he had pleased neither party, and was favoured by none. Metellus was invited back, and, that he might not

witness the reception of his rival, Marius left Rome for a time. When he returned, he lived in seclusion, bitterly humiliated, but nursing his revenge. The same year which witnessed these stirring events witnessed the birth of Julius Cæsar, the 100. nephew of Marius.

CHAPTER XX.

MISGOVERNMENT AND INJUSTICE.

WHILST the events recorded in the last chapter were in progress, there had been serious trouble amongst the Sicilian slaves. The Roman slave trade had assumed vast proportions. Most of the slaves came from Asia Minor, brought by pirates, slave merchants and speculators, who carried on their nefarious trade under the protection of the Roman flag. The king of Bithynia, when a contingent was demanded from him to help in a Roman war, declared that he could not send it because his people had been stolen from him by slave traders. There was a large market for Oriental slaves at Delos, where as many as 10,000 had been known to change hands in one day. Sicily was full of slaves from Asia Minor, who worked on the plantations, and were brutally treated.

So long as the slave market was supplied from tribes which were hostile to Rome, there was not perhaps much to be said, but the traders were not particular where they got their victims, and persons belonging to nations in alliance with Rome, and even poor Sicilians were sometimes reduced to
104. bondage. Complaints of this went to Rome, and Nerva, the governor of Sicily, held a court in Syracuse to investigate the matter. When many had appealed and hundreds were declared free, the planters became alarmed and persuaded Nerva to shut up the court and send the other applicants away. Nerva weakly did so; but the men, instead of returning to their masters made for the mountains, and in a little while the island was in a flame. The slaves placed a king at their head called Tryphon, and were joined by another

band under Athenio. Thus united, they gained many successes, and kept the Romans at bay for five years, until at length 99. Aquillius defeated Athenio and killed him, upon which the rebellion came to an end.

The ending of the slave war was fortunate for the Senate. Marius had been set aside, and the Senate was triumphant politically, and if only they could keep the country at peace, or succeed in such wars as they undertook, they might maintain their position for a long time. Marius, on the other hand, did not desire peace, hoping that if an important war broke out his services would be required. There was for some time 97. no serious conflict in the provinces. The Spaniards rose, but the insurrection was easily quelled, and when Mithridates threatened aggression in Asia, Sulla, the governor of Cilicia, kept things quiet. At home also there seemed every prospect of peace. The violence of Saturninus and the feebleness of Marius had greatly discouraged the best men in the popular party, and those who had much to lose sided with the Senate. After the death of Saturninus there were frequent prosecutions, and many democrats fled from Rome. The laws of Saturninus were repealed and the colonies which he sought to establish abolished, so that everything seemed to augur favourably for Senatorial government. Nor did the first crisis which the Senate had to face arise from the democracy, but from the moneyed interest with which they were at present allied.

It will be remembered that Gracchus, with the view of weakening the power of the aristocracy, had established a moneyed order called the equites, and had given them control of the jury courts, which had been up to that time a prerogative of the Senate. The equites, or commercial men, had used their power selfishly, especially in connection with the court which professed to try cases of provincial malfeasance but was now used to protect wickedness and extortion. So long as governors and officials allowed them to rob and maltreat the natives of the provinces at their will, they were satisfied; but if one more honourable than the rest dared to

challenge their action, he was threatened; and if he persisted, then upon his retirement he was prosecuted on trumped-up
92. charges before this court. A gross instance of this occurred in the case of P. Rutilius Rufus, who had been lieutenant to Q. Scævola in Asia. Scævola was a man of sterling honesty who vigorously repressed evil-doing in Asia during his governorship. He was ably seconded by Rutilius Rufus; but no sooner had the latter retired than he was dragged before this court, condemned for maladministration and exiled —his property being confiscated. A more scandalous judgment could not have been passed. Rufus retired to Asia, was received with high honour, and spent the rest of his life there. Shortly after this another good man, Marcus Scaurus, was assailed, and it became evident that a court which had been established to check colonial extortion was being used in precisely the opposite way. Now although there were many in the Senate who were selfish, and many who were implicated in these very acts of injustice, yet there were good men who desired to see justice done to all, and some of these set about preparing schemes of reform.

The evil connected with the jury courts was pressing, but there was an evil nearer home, which was more serious still—the treatment of the Italians by the Roman burgesses. There was a time when the Italians did not desire Roman citizenship, but that day had gone by, and now they demanded to know by what principle of justice they were compelled to bear the burdens, share the dangers, and win the victories of the state, whilst they were debarred from every privilege of citizenship. There was no denying the justice of their claim, and reformer after reformer had promised to see them righted, but this had never been done, and the Italians became more indignant every day at the burgesses who excluded them from purely selfish motives.

91. At length Livius Drusus came forward as their champion —an aristocrat, but esteemed by all, and likely to obtain the help of all who were not blinded by their material interests.

He brought forward a scheme of reform dealing with some of the evils of the day. He proposed that the jury courts should no longer be exclusively in the hands of the equites, but be controlled by Senate and equites conjointly; that vacant arable land in Italy should be divided amongst the burgess colonists; that the gifts of corn should be increased; and that the franchise should be given to the Italians. Excepting the increase in the gifts of corn, the proposals were just, but they created intense opposition. The taking of the jury courts from the exclusive possession of the equites roused them to fierce resistance, and the distribution of the arable land amongst the poor was opposed by every wealthy landowner in the country. Drusus kept back the proposal to extend the franchise to the Italians until the other reforms had been dealt with, and they were carried, but afterwards cancelled on a technical objection. Crassus, the consul, who supported them, died suddenly, and shortly after Drusus himself was assassinated, and the reforms came to nought. The cause of progress seemed hopeless. When reformers tried to improve the state by attacking the Senate, they were murdered; when Senators tried to improve the state by strengthening the Senate, they also were murdered. There seemed nothing for it but revolution, and the Italians, who looked upon Drusus as their champion, on hearing of his assassination, at once determined on civil war.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ITALIAN REVOLT.

THE Italians desired reform not merely in order that they might obtain the franchise. The system of personal voting which prevailed at Rome made it unlikely that the franchise would be used by many of them even if they obtained it, but the want of the power to vote was one of the least of their evils. The Romans having had the superintendence of the administration and the making of law in their hands for so long a time had constantly improved the condition of the Roman burgess, but had left that of the Italians to deteriorate. In early days, for instance, Rome and Italy had received equal treatment in the matter of levy; but now, when an army was called out, two Italians were summoned for one burgess. Again, the treatment of the soldiers was not equal. A Latin or Italian officer could be dealt with summarily by court martial, and executed on the spot; whilst a Roman private had, in case of a capital sentence, his right of appeal, as a Roman citizen, to the Assembly. In civil matters also there was much ground for complaint. The Romans looked on all not actually burgesses as an inferior race, and the Latins and Italians were maltreated by the magistrates and by the young nobles without redress. Yet they had been most faithful and deserved better treatment. They were Rome's best soldiers, had won her battles, had made her mistress of the world, and were treated like dogs. Nor did there seem
126. much chance of improvement, when laws were passed expelling
95. non-burgesses from Rome, and prohibiting non-citizens from even daring to claim the franchise. Every now and then some man, wiser than the rest, had tried to do them justice, but

their advocates were always ruined, and they saw that Rome would never yield their demands unless under compulsion. At the same time it was not easy for the Italians to coerce Rome. The Roman burgesses could act unitedly and at a moment's notice, whilst the Italians were scattered throughout the land, and had no rallying point except the city itself. Therefore, though more numerous than the burgesses and even better soldiers, they were not likely to be so effective in war.

When Drusus came forward on their behalf, the hopes of the Italians rose high. He was a man of high position, a reformer, yet conservative in his ideas, and commanding the confidence of all classes. To their great delight he was at first successful, his early proposals were carried and they waited eagerly for the carrying of the last proposal which interested them more than all. But instead of further success there came news of delay, then of repeal, and then all Italy rang with the cry that their hero had been assassinated.

There can be no doubt that for some time the Italians had been determining that if this effort at pacific reform failed, they would take up arms for their rights. Nevertheless the rebellion broke out almost by accident, the citizens of Asculum being so insulted by the Roman magistrate that they killed him, and followed up their action by killing all the Romans in their city. The revolt thus begun quickly spread, and soon Central and Southern Italy were in a flame. The revolution was not general; Etruria and Umbria held by Rome, as well as many towns even in the insurgent districts where the wealthy classes predominated. Generally speaking, the rich and their dependants were for Rome; the middle classes, especially the farmers, for the insurrection.

In Rome herself there was division, for some would have gladly yielded to the demands of the Italians, recognising them as just; yet in the main the stubborn side of the Roman character came out, and men of every party put themselves at the service of the state—Marius and Sulla amongst the rest.

Both sides prepared resolutely for the struggle. The insurgents chose Corfinium as their capital, changing its name to Italica, and framed a constitution for themselves which was a copy of that of Rome, having consuls, prætors, a Senate, and
90. an Assembly. When the war broke out in earnest, the number of combatants was about 100,000 on either side, and in the matter of courage and generalship there was little to choose. The first year's campaign went in favour of the insurgents, and the Romans began to lay aside some of their arrogance and to think of compromise. Accordingly, in the autumn the lex Julia was passed, granting citizenship to such of the Italian
89. states as were not in rebellion, and early next year a further measure offered citizenship to all who would within two months appear before a Roman magistrate and claim it. Though these concessions did not grant all that the Italians demanded, yet they were an acknowledgment that Rome was in the wrong, and they were enough of an approximation to justice to draw the teeth of the insurrection. Having gone so far, it seemed likely that Rome would ultimately go the whole length, and those who were not very hostile began to draw back. As a result the second year's campaign was much easier for the Romans, and but for the unquenchable determination of the Samnites the war would soon have come to a close. By the end of the second campaign it had ceased to cause much anxiety in Rome, and the citizens could think of other matters.

As it happened, there was quite enough to think about in Rome at this time. The position of the city was becoming most serious, and discontent pervaded every class. When the civil war broke out, those who favoured the granting of privileges to the Italians were prosecuted for treason and expelled from the city. Later, when it became clear that concessions must be made, the same court expelled the men who were against granting privileges, so that by two sets of prosecutions the best men in the city on both sides were banished. Again, though the war had been ended by the promise of enfranchise-

ment to the Italians the Roman burgesses so qualified the privilege as to take back with one hand what they gave with the other, and this had created much ill-feeling. The treasury was exhausted, the people were miserably poor, and when Asellio, the prætor, tried to give debtors relief by reviving obsolete laws against usury he was murdered. It did not improve financial matters that Mithridates, the king of Pontus, was overrunning Asia Minor; and the capitalists there, who for years had been fattening upon the wretched provincials, were now threatened with the loss of their nefarious gains, whilst the Roman treasury was deprived of the tribute from her richest province.

Worst of all for Rome, the spirit of patriotism was dying out. She had been cruel to all but the wealthy amongst her children, and the poor had lost affection for her, the Italians had no longer any regard for the republic, and the Romans only valued it for the free bread it gave. For a long time the government had been so detestable that it had lost the sympathy of all; and the soldiers, with the nonchalance of mercenaries, followed whatever general was most likely to lead them where they could find booty.

In the third year of the social war, when the embers of it 88.
were being stamped out, the consuls were Sulla and Pompeius Rufus, and Sulla was appointed to proceed to Asia to command against Mithridates. Meanwhile Sulpicius Rufus, the tribune, proposed three laws known as the Leges Sulpiciæ which raised much opposition, though they were not very revolutionary. He proposed to recall the men who had been exiled at the beginning of the Social War; to make the concession of citizenship to the Italians a reality, and to expel from the Senate every member who was heavily in debt. The third proposal was aggravating in its nature and might better have been omitted, but the other two were wise and there was no need for the Senate and consuls to oppose them as bitterly as they did. Finding that he could not carry his proposals by fair means, Sulpicius used force; and the consuls

yielded, though with a bad grace. After this political defeat Sulla withdrew to his army in Campania, to prepare for his Asiatic campaign ; but Sulpicius, fearing the army might be used to overturn his laws, passed another act removing Sulla from the generalship and appointing Marius in his stead. This action of Sulpicius was extremely injudicious, and led to great mischief.

When the news of his deposition reached Sulla he assembled his soldiers, told them what had happened and asked if they would stand by him. Most of them promised, only a few officers thinking that duty to the city should come before duty to the general. Accordingly he marched on Rome, and in a few hours was master of the city—Marius, Sulpicius and other leading opponents making their escape. The fugitives were proscribed ; Sulpicius was captured and executed ; but Marius, after extraordinary adventures, reached Africa, where he was joined by some of his followers.

Sulla was now supreme, the Sulpician laws were abrogated, the Senate restored to all its privileges, and made stronger than ever by an enactment that no law could be proposed by a tribune until it had been sanctioned by the Senate. This reduced the Assembly of the people to a nullity, and meant oligarchy pure and simple. Nevertheless, anything would have been better for Rome than the existing chaos ; and, if Sulla had remained at the head of the state, things might have been brought into order by degrees, for he was a clear-headed man and would have made a firm ruler. But he was bent upon going to the east, where indeed the state of affairs was most threatening, for Mithridates was overrunning Asia Minor and had massacred 80,000 Romans and Italians.

Sulla endeavoured to safeguard affairs in his absence in two ways : firstly, by putting a trusted officer, Quintus Rufus, in command of the army in the north ; and, secondly, by nominating two friends as consuls for the ensuing year. But when Rufus went to take over command from Strabo, the general of the northern army, he was murdered, and at

the elections, Cinna, an avowed enemy of Sulla, was elected as one of the consuls along with Octavius, who was favourable to Sulla. Things were not very promising, therefore, for the cause of peace; but, after the massacre which had been perpetrated in Asia, Sulla could no longer delay, and having made the new consuls swear to maintain the constitution, he embarked his army and sailed for Greece—on his way to Asia.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

87. The departure of Sulla for Asia at so critical a time was anything but comforting to the oligarchy. He had upset the former government; he had not remained long enough to consolidate the new one; and he had taught Rome for the first time the value of the sword in settling political disputes. Before Sulla's time there had been rioting and murder, but he was the first general who entered Rome at the head of a well-equipped army and cut the knot of political entanglement with his sword. When he left Rome, he left much discontent behind him. Nothing had been really settled—nobody was pleased. This disappointment had shown itself in the election of Cinna to the consulship, a man of moderate ability, but pledged to oppose Sulla. So long as Sulla remained in the country the peace was kept, but no sooner had he sailed for Greece than conflict began. Cinna, notwithstanding his oath to Sulla, revived the proposals of Sulpicius, and the new voters from the country, who were specially interested, flocked in numbers to the capital to help to pass them; but Octavius, the other consul, who was Sulla's nominee, opposed them fiercely, and at the head of an armed force fell upon the unarmed countrymen and slew 10,000 of them. After this atrocity had been perpetrated Cinna was deposed from the consulship, and with six tribunes expelled from Rome. The exiles fled to the army which was lying at Nola in Campania and appealed to the soldiers, who eagerly espoused the cause of the people. Their numbers were quickly augmented by volunteers from the neighbouring Italian communities whose

citizens had been so brutally massacred. The Sulpician exiles had been sent for, and landed in Etruria, and when it became known that Marius was amongst them, his old soldiers flocked from all sides, so that he joined Cinna with a large contingent and marched upon Rome.

Meanwhile the Roman Senate had recalled Strabo with the army of the north, and he occupied Rome, but showed little zeal. He allowed the insurgents to invest the city, and contented himself with a passive attitude, waiting apparently for an opportunity to make such an arrangement as would be for his own benefit. During the investment, however, a pestilence broke out in the city, and 17,000 men perished, amongst whom was Strabo himself.

Whilst the armies thus lay confronting one another, a strong Samnite detachment joined the army of Marius and Cinna. Many also deserted to their ranks, so that their forces grew, whilst those of the Senate continually decreased. Soon there was nothing left for the Senators but capitulation, and they submitted—making but one request: that there might be no bloodshed. To this Cinna and the rest assented, but Marius made no sign. Being legally an outlaw he refused to enter the city until the sentence against him had been revoked; when this was done, he entered, and commanded that the gates should be shut. In spite of the efforts of Cinna and the other leaders he then ordered the death of every notable man in the aristocratic party, and for five days and five nights the slaughter went on. Gnæus Octavius, the consul, was the first to be slain; and after him victim upon victim, slaves mostly serving as executioners, and plundering the houses of the men whom they had killed. The terror which Marius inspired spread to his colleagues; they dared not resist him, nor did the massacre cease until he was satiated. They even nominated him consul for the next year, and he was elected, thus becoming consul for the seventh time. This had been his highest ambition, but he had no joy in its fulfilment. In his early days he had done his country service,

and his name had been reverenced; now he had become an object of terror and loathing to every right-minded man. Nor
86. did he long enjoy his triumph, for, less than a fortnight after the election, he died of fever. After his death, Sertorius, a leader in his own party, summoned the slaves who had carried out the orders of his chief to receive their wages, and when they assembled, to the number of 4,000, he slew them to a man.

On the death of Marius, Flaccus was appointed consul along with Cinna, but Cinna had the supreme power and kept it for three years, nominating himself annually as consul with a colleague, without going through the formality of election by the people. He did not carry out any measures of importance, nor did he attempt much in the way of consolidating the government. Nevertheless there was peace during his time, and most people hoped things would remain as they were, dreading the return of the oligarchy, lest it might usher in another reign of terror.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MITHRIDATIC WAR.

It is now necessary that we should follow the fortunes of Sulla after he left Italy to carry on war with Mithridates.

Mithridates was king of Pontus, the state which lay on the southern shore of the Black Sea, west of Armenia. He claimed descent from Darius Hystaspis, and was strong, energetic, and brave; but entirely unscrupulous in his character, with none of the generous qualities possessed by Hannibal and Pyrrhus. The states adjoining Pontus were weak, and Mithridates devoted himself to the extension of his dominions with so much success that at last his rule was acknowledged round the shores of the Black Sea as far as the river Dneiper and over most of Asia Minor. As his kingdom extended his warlike resources extended with it, until at last he was able to put 100,000 men into the field, and dominate the Black Sea with his fleet.

The Romans had made a settlement in Asia, by which they purposed to prevent any one power from overshadowing the others, and they heard with alarm of the rapid growth of the kingdom of Pontus. They did not care, however, to embroil themselves in war so far from home; and merely sent Sulla, then governor of Cilicia, to remonstrate with Mithridates for aggressions in Cappadocia. Mithridates listened to Sulla and with- 92.
drew his forces, but no sooner was Sulla's back turned than the aggressions began again. This was the period of the Social War, and Rome had enough to think about at home; but two 90.
years later Manlius Aquillius, a Roman commissioner, interfered, and Mithridates again yielded. Aquillius was, however,

determined on war for the sake of the plunder he expected to secure; and, notwithstanding the unwillingness both of the Senate and Mithridates, he used Nicomedes king of Bithynia as a tool, and so arranged matters that war broke out.

When Mithridates saw that war with Rome was inevitable, he prepared for it on a grand scale—taking the field with 300,000 men. This was the moment when Sulla was marching upon Rome; and Mithridates, having no formidable opponent, easily overran Asia Minor. Many of the cities hailed him as a deliverer from the Roman yoke, and either slew the garrisons within their walls or delivered them to the king in chains. Amongst the rest Aquillius was delivered up, and this man, the wicked cause of the war, was killed by having molten gold poured down his throat. Well would it have been had Mithridates stopped here; but, pride blinding his reason, he savagely ordered every Roman and Italian in Asia Minor to be massacred, and 80,000 were thus slain. This was mere senseless brutality, for a considerable number of the Italians were not Romans at all, and had just been at war with Rome, so that they might have become valuable allies.

The army of Mithridates now overran Asia Minor, and his fleet dominated the Ægean. Not content with this, he determined to carry the war into Europe; and hoping to stir up the Greeks to rebellion, he sent his son with an army by way of Thrace and Macedonia, and at the same time occupied the Ægean with his fleet. The Greeks were willing enough to rebel against Rome, and soon most of the islands and a great part of the mainland came over to his side.

The Romans, on the other hand, were badly situated. The Social War was scarcely over, there was a revolution in the city itself, there was no fleet on the sea, no money in the treasury. For the work in which she was engaged Rome needed many armies; she had but few, and these little to be depended on. What Sulla would do was a question of high importance, and he had doubtless great difficulty in settling whether to go to Asia or remain in Europe, but he at last decided for Asia;

and, crossing the Adriatic, landed in Epirus with 30,000 men. 87.
Rome was badly off when she had to send out so important an expedition with neither fleet nor money, but Sulla made up for all deficiences by his energy and generalship. A few early Roman successes induced most of the Greek cities to desert Mithridates, but Athens held out and had to be captured by siege. In order to get money Sulla robbed the temples, and he sent his officer Lucullus to Egypt and the maritime towns to try to raise a fleet. Egypt refused to help, but the maritime towns finding Mithridatic tyranny worse than Roman, helped Lucullus to gather a few ships together.

Sulla's personal position was as unsatisfactory as it could be. By this time he had heard of the revolution at Rome, of the massacres, of his own outlawry and supersession, and that another general with another army had been sent to take over command of the war and fight him if need be. Under these circumstances Mithridates should have left Sulla alone; for, whilst the Mithridatic fleet held the Ægean, Sulla could not cross to Asia, and marching round was a task beyond his powers. But Mithridates determined to crush his enemy, and ordered his son Archelaus to attack him in Greece. Accordingly a battle was fought at Chæronea; and, though the Asiatics 86.
were thrice as numerous as the Romans, discipline and valour prevailed, and the troops of Mithridates were completely routed. Even yet the king had not learned his lesson; and, when another army had been collected, he again ordered that Sulla should be attacked. This time the battle was fought at Orchomenus, and the result was more decisive than before—the 85.
Pontic army being almost annihilated. By these acts of folly Mithridates raised Sulla's prestige to an extraordinary height, left the way to Asia open, and so weakened his own resources that Asia Minor fell from him on every side. Moreover the new circumstances made the raising of a fleet an easy matter, and Lucullus was soon strong enough to win engagements and to command the sea.

Mithridates now sued for peace, and it was at last arranged—

the king undertaking to restore all conquests, to surrender his ships, and to pay a heavy indemnity. When the negotiations for peace began, Sulla was still in Europe at Delium; but as Mithridates was slow in accepting the terms offered, he advanced towards Asia with his army, crossed the Hellespont
84. and was at Dardanus when the peace was concluded. Two years before, another Roman army had been sent against Mithridates under command of Flaccus, the intention being to supersede Sulla. Flaccus crossed to Greece and lay opposite Sulla for a short time, but finding that his men were deserting he marched northwards through Macedonia and Thrace to Asia.
85. After the army reached Asia there was a mutiny, and Flaccus being killed was succeeded by Fimbria. As soon as Sulla had finished his negotiations with Mithridates he turned upon Fimbria; but, when he drew near, the troops in Fimbria's army
84. began to desert, and the general seeing how things were going killed himself. His army then surrendered, and Sulla, not feeling entire confidence in the men, left them under the command of Lucius Licinius Murena to settle affairs in Asia; whilst, with his own tried troops, he turned his face homeward towards Italy.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE DEMOCRACY.

Sulla was aware of all that had taken place in Italy during his absence, but, regardless of the revolution, had gone on and finished his work. Now that it was done he sent a letter to 84.
the Senate reporting the end of the war and announcing his return to Italy as imminent. Although this letter stated that he would not interfere with the rights of citizenship which had been granted, and would not punish any but the leaders of the revolution, great alarm was created in Rome, and preparations were at once made for serious resistance. Cinna determined to cross to Greece, and an army was collecting at Ancona for that purpose, when there was a mutiny and Cinna was killed, after which his colleagues gave up the idea. Vigorous preparations were, however, made for opposing Sulla as soon as he landed, and 100,000 troops were levied.

Sulla landed at Brindisi with about 40,000 men, and issued 83.
a proclamation which did much to break down opposition. The Italians feared that a change of government would imperil the rights of citizenship which they had obtained after so long a struggle, so he bound himself to maintain all their privileges. This wise proclamation deprived the opposition of its chief supporters, and Brindisi and other towns in the south opened their gates to Sulla without further question, for if their privileges were secured, it was a matter of indifference to them which party ruled at Rome.

Sulla's forces were small for the work which he had to do, but the members of the aristocratic party gathered round him, and Gnæus Pompeius, better known as Pompey, brought

a substantial accession of strength to his standard. Sulla was now in a position to advance and offer battle, and at Capua he overthrew the army of Norbanus, one of the consuls. Shortly after at Teanum he met the other consul, Scipio, with his forces, and during negotiation for an armistice Scipio's soldiers went over to Sulla in such numbers that he was left without an army.

82. The consuls for the next year were Carbo and Marius, an adopted son of the general. Carbo went to Etruria, whilst Marius protected Rome. Marius was quickly defeated by Sulla and had to retreat, throwing himself into Præneste. Before Rome was evacuated, however, he had shown what spirit he was of, by issuing an order that various leaders of the opposite party should be slain.

Sulla reached Rome without further opposition; but, instead of entering it, sent a portion of his army to blockade Præneste, whilst with the rest he set out for Etruria to seek Carbo. At this juncture the Samnites again took the field, and marched to relieve Præneste, so that Sulla was forced to leave Etruria, and take up a position in which he could check their advance.

Meanwhile, his general, Metellus, had been successful in subjugating the country north of the Apennines and was making ready to attack Carbo; but the consul, seeing the hopelessness of the struggle, fled to Africa, while his troops dispersed, so that Metellus was free to join hands with his general.

The Samnites, hearing what had happened, did not wait for the junction of their enemies at Præneste, but determined to march on Rome itself. They got there first, but Sulla had found out their plan and by a forced march reached the city before any harm was done. A fierce battle was fought, and it seemed as if Sulla would be beaten, but in the end he was victorious, and the Samnites were annihilated.

After this Præneste surrendered, the younger Marius committed suicide, and Sulla overran Samnium and wasted it without mercy. Some of the towns of Etruria still held out, especially Volaterræ which stood a three years' siege. At last

its garrison capitulated on condition that their lives should be spared, but when they issued forth they were massacred.

Various provinces still remained in the hands of the 81.
representatives of the democracy, but Sicily and Africa yielded quickly to Pompey; while Sertorius, the governor of Spain, feeling himself too weak to oppose the armies sent against him, retired to Africa for a time.

Whilst matters were thus drawing to a conclusion in the west, Murena had not found the settlement of the east an easy matter. He had acted injudiciously, crossing the Pontic 83.
frontier in spite of the protests of Mithridates, and the remonstrances of envoys whom Sulla had sent to dissuade him. Mithridates had therefore no resource but to take up arms to defend himself, and Murena was driven back with great 82.
loss, but Sulla declined to be dragged into an Asiatic war and ordered him to make peace.

Thus, once more, both at home and abroad, Rome was at peace, and it remained to be seen whether the man who was now at the head of affairs would be able to settle the constitution upon a basis that would give permanent satisfaction.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA.

82. Sulla's supremacy was now fully recognised; and, in order that his acts might have the sanction of legal authority, he was created dictator, with absolute power of life and death over the citizens, the right to adjudicate upon all matters without appeal, and ratification of all he had done in the past. He had therefore a clear field, and had he been a true patriot, had he risen above party, endeavoured to arrange the constitution with a regard to the best interests of the people, and shown a forgiving spirit, so that Roman politics might have been divorced from their unholy alliance with confiscation and massacre, he might have been a real blessing to the state.

Unfortunately Sulla did not stand the test. The promises made in his letters to the Senate to spare all except the leaders in the Marian revolution were at once broken, a long list was made out of those whom he doomed to death, and the massacre began. It was the first instance of proscription in Roman history, and there was a deliberate fiendishness about the method, making it even worse than the Marian massacres, which had been the wild revenge of a madman, horrible at the time, but soon over. The Sullan massacres lasted for months, those whose names were put in the lists were outlawed, any one might kill them, even their slaves; their goods were confiscated and sold by auction at absurdly low prices to Sulla's supporters; and their children and grandchildren were disfranchised and debarred from state service. The murderer of a proscribed person was rewarded, and any one who dared to

shelter the proscribed shared their fate. None were safe, for the lists were constantly increased, names were inserted to please Sulla's friends, and in the number many supporters of the oligarchy fell, because their estates were coveted by those who had the ear of the dictator. The executions were not confined to Rome, but were general throughout Italy, and bands of soldiers went about profiting by the reward of murder. Of course the supporters of Marius were the chief victims, but many only indirectly implicated in the revolution suffered also, such as the professional accusers and those who had dared to buy confiscated property. In this way 4,700 leading men were slain and their estates forfeited. The amount of the confiscation is shown by the fact that, although property often went for the merest fraction of its value, more than £3,000,000 sterling was paid into the treasury by the purchasers. Many of these were freedmen, and an advocate asked in court if the only purpose for which the nobility of Rome went to war was to enrich freedmen and slaves.

When he had murdered his enemies, Sulla turned his attention towards affairs of state, and began to set the constitution in order. Here, again, he had a chance to show true statesmanship. Naturally enough his mind was bent towards oligarchic institutions, and, surrounded as he was by a triumphant aristocracy, it was to be expected that he should favour these somewhat in his legislative proposals. Nevertheless, as a far-seeing man, he should have realised that the barefaced restoration of the oligarchy would inevitably bring about a reaction, that the opposition would have its turn, and that a recurrence of party triumphs of the sort to which Rome was now accustomed must ruin the city in the end. Sulla had promised to respect the claim of the Italians to citizenship, and so far as letting them remain on a par with Roman burgesses was concerned, he kept his word, but as he took from the burgesses all their privileges, the concession to the Italians was of little value. The whole tendency of his measures was to depress the officers and Assembly of the people, and to

restore the Senate to its former supremacy. The tribunes of the plebs were deprived of all real power, they had no longer the right to initiate legislation, nor could they aspire to any other office of state. The control of the jury courts, which had been in the hands of the equites since the days of Gracchus, was now restored to the Senate.

Sulla carried out reforms in the judicial and executive machinery which were of permanent value, laying the foundation of Roman criminal law by the establishment of courts for the trial of murder, bribery, forgery and the like.

The initiative of the Senate in all legislation being now secured by solemn enactment, and the law courts being packed with senators, the Roman constitution was brought back to the point from which it had started centuries before, when the people were excluded from all participation in administrative affairs. Yet Sulla could not completely revive the past, for he could not transform a worthless and effete party into the patricians of olden times, of whom with all their faults the people had been proud. This was the weak point of his constitution. He had bolstered up an oligarchy which he knew to be incapable of governing the country as it should be governed, and he must have realised in his heart that his reorganisation of the commonwealth could not endure.

Nor was this the only injury that Sulla had done
88. to the state. By his first march upon the city he taught the Romans how to use an army for political purposes, and he had improved upon this first lesson by a second of a yet more thorough character. The whole military system of Rome had changed immeasurably for the worse. In former times the burgesses had fought for their country, but burgess levies were now things of the past, and mercenaries fought for the general who could best promise to satiate them with victory and plunder. Twice had Sulla shown how a devoted army could make its general master of Rome; and the lesson was not forgotten. Even whilst he was dictator, there was insubordination amongst the soldiers, for the men who had replaced

the Senators in power did not care to recognise them as masters; but Sulla checked this spirit, and even ordered that Ofella, one of his generals, should be killed because he endeavoured to obtain the consulship in an illegal way.

From an economic point of view Sulla did much mischief. Italy had been growing tranquil under the government of Cinna; and, had Sulla refrained from meddling, all would have been well. But he ordered commissions to proceed throughout Italy to inquire into the action of each community during the revolution, and to reward or chastise as the case might be. Many cities were punished by the confiscation of their territories, the occupiers were ejected, and the lands divided amongst his soldiers. Had these men understood farming and been content to remain and till the land, the change would have been of less consequence, but they were unused to country life, and soon tired of it, drifting towards Rome, and swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Much of Italy thus became waste, Samnium and Lucania were desolate, Etruria had been treated with much harshness, discontent reigned everywhere, and the men who had been dispossessed took to the mountains and lived by brigandage. Sulla was undoubtedly a man of ability, and might have immortalised his name, but he flung the chance away, and became a curse instead of a blessing to his country.

After holding the dictatorship for a year or two, he 79.
resigned, and retired to Puteoli where he shortly afterwards died.

Sulla is a man from whom we must withhold admiration, except on the score of military capacity. He was an excellent soldier, never losing an important battle, and scarcely ever having to retreat. But this is all that can be said in his favour, for he was sensual, unscrupulous, and brutal, placing party above country and throwing away the opportunity which fortune afforded him of saving the state. It would have been better for Rome had Sulla died in Asia, for though the government over which Cinna presided was imperfect, yet it

had elements of permanence which were lacking in the government erected by Sulla. This was the greater pity, as Rome stood sorely in need of reform; for, though the world might think her powerful, her condition socially, economically, and politically was as bad as it could well be.

The greatest evil which Rome had now to face arose from slavery. There had always been slaves, but in early times these were only a tithe of the people; now there were more slaves than freemen. The consequence was that most of the work, both in the city and country, was done by slaves. One of the finest pieces of work ever done by Rome was the Marcian Aqueduct. It took three years in building, it cost £2,000,000 sterling, 3,000 contractors were engaged, and every one of them did his work by bands of slaves. Thus there were in Italy three classes: the rich who owned all the land and tilled it by slaves, or contracted for public works and executed them by slave labour; the slaves themselves, captured in war or piracy, often as good as their masters, very numerous, and only waiting a chance to rise in rebellion; and the populace, a mass of freemen for whom there was no real place in Roman society, but who, lest they might become mutinous and turn upon the rich, had to be amused and fed.

In a society thus constituted it was to be expected that there would be much sensual indulgence. The wealthy drank hard, and wasted their substance in debauchery. The poor demanded games, no longer of the primitive sort where they were content to watch races fairly run, but horrible and bloodthirsty scenes where men fought with wild beasts and with one another to the death. Slavery also brought with it its twin sister—immorality. Marriage was held of little account, and divorce was of daily occurrence.

The Roman finances were also in an unhappy condition. Rome was never a very rich state, but during the Hannibalic wars there had been such financial providence that the war lasted for ten years before the government fell back upon the reserve fund; whilst in the social war, now just finished, the reserve

fund was exhausted at once, and the government had to raise money by the sale of public land. It was to the credit of the Roman administration that it did not demand heavy taxes or tribute for state purposes; but so far as the subject communities were concerned the actual tax or tribute remitted to Rome was but a tithe of what they had to pay. The governors, generals, magistrates and publicani who went to the provinces went to make their fortunes, and made them no matter at what cost to their victims. Instances are recorded where the unfortunate communities had to sell their works of art, their public buildings, and their very children, in order to meet the claims of the Roman tax farmer. Little wonder if the name of "publican" was synonymous with the worst kind of oppression and robbery amongst the peoples of the east.

Whilst this was the condition of the Roman empire socially and economically, Sulla had so ordered it that politically it was as badly off as in its darkest days. The early strivings towards representative government seemed to have been in vain, the burgesses had lost all share in the commonwealth, and their magistrates were without independence. Nor did there seem any hope in the future, for "the sun of freedom was setting" in Rome. There was no longer any chance of making a successful struggle against despotism, and the only question remaining to be solved was what form the despotism was destined to take.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE OLIGARCHY ON ITS TRIAL.

THE constitution as arranged by Sulla was not likely to last long, but its duration depended on the capacity of the Senate to govern. During the earlier period, when for a century Rome had been engaged in foreign war, power had fallen into the hands of the Senate, and had been so well used that all had acquiesced. If the Senators had now shown themselves worthy of the responsibility which Sulla had laid upon them, that large class of the community which cared less for the form of a government than for a peaceable life would have rallied to their support.

But the Senate did not make out any claim to the confidence of the people. So long as Sulla himself was at the head of affairs things went smoothly, and malcontents were silent; but after his death the Senate showed painful incapacity both at home and abroad, and there was much disaffection. Many looked askance upon Sulla's changes, besides the adherents of the democratic party. Some Senators had liberal ideas; and men with legal minds had been shocked by Sulla's arbitrary proceedings, certain jurists having gone so far as to disregard his laws even whilst he lived. The capitalists had been made bitterly hostile by his interference with their tax farming, their rights in the jury courts, and the loss of various subordinate privileges which they prized. The position of the freedmen congregated in the capital had been lowered by Sulla, and the populace had been deprived of their cheap corn. Many of the best men had been proscribed and dispossessed, and though they had been got out of the way their

friends remained to work for their recall or to watch for a chance to avenge their memory. Moreover, the number who had really benefited by his measures was small. Many of his soldiers had got lands in various parts of Italy, and for the moment they were contented, but they soon tired of agricultural life and drifted back to the capital where they became as dissatisfied as the rest.

Consequently Sulla was scarcely buried before preparations 78.
began for a new revolution. The consuls for the year were Lepidus and Catulus. Lepidus had belonged to the aristocratic party, but having been appointed governor of Sicily he had plundered there so freely that he had been threatened with impeachment, in order to avoid which he joined the democratic party. He was a man of no character, and a doubtful acquisition, but he pushed himself to the front, becoming one of the leaders. On the death of Sulla many of the exiles returned, amongst whom was Julius Cæsar. He was only twenty-two years of age, yet had narrowly escaped proscription under Sulla. Marius had married his aunt, and he himself had married a daughter of Cinna, and when Sulla requested him to divorce his young wife he refused, preferring to leave Italy. In this he had acted more nobly than Pompey who had done Sulla's bidding, and it was only the earnest intercession of Cæsar's relatives that saved him from condign punishment. Sulla passed his defiance over because of his youth, but warned his friends that that "boy in the petticoat" would turn out another Marius. When Cæsar returned he was inclined to join the revolutionary movement, but when he looked into things and saw what manner of man Lepidus was, he abstained.

The revolution broke out first in Etruria, and the Senate rashly commissioned both consuls to raise armies to quell it. Catulus was faithful, but Lepidus, as might have been expected, declared for the revolution, and advanced upon the capital. He was, however, defeated, and afterwards so pressed by Pompey that he escaped to Sardinia where he

died—the remnant of his army, under Perpenna, joining
77. Sertorius in Spain.

The opposition to Senatorial government in Italy had collapsed, but in Spain it was assuming formidable proportions. Sertorius had been sent there as governor before the over-
81. throw of the democratic government, and when it was superseded and Sulla's generals arrived, he retired to Africa. He was popular with the Spaniards, and when the Lusitanians,
80. a year after, resolved to rise against Rome, they asked him to become their leader. Sertorius consented, and, being joined by many exiles, organised the Lusitanians so well that he defeated the Roman generals who were sent against him. He was greatly esteemed by the Spaniards and ruled that part of Spain which was under his sway with great wisdom, founding schools, reducing the tribute, and keeping his soldiers so well in hand that the peaceful inhabitants were never injured by them. At last the whole of the Spanish province, except where the Roman troops were, was ruled by Sertorius; he had emissaries in Gaul, and his ships commanded the Western Mediterranean.

77. As the war dragged in Spain, Pompey demanded to be sent there as general; and though this could only be done by violating Sulla's rule that men must not be sent abroad as proconsuls with military power until they had been for a year in civil office in Italy, the Senate, having no one else of equal military capacity, gave him the appointment. For a time he achieved little, but when the war had lingered for eight years the Spaniards tired of it, and the emigrants who were with
72. Sertorius, and who had always been hard to manage, conspired and murdered him as he sat at table. Perpenna succeeded him but was soon defeated and captured, and the Spanish war came to an end.

Meanwhile there had been another slave war in Italy, where slavery had become an unmitigated curse. The country was filled with inflammable material, armed bands roamed about, freemen were abducted, estates were stolen by one owner from

another, and outrages were of daily occurrence. Amongst the slaves some had been set aside as gladiators, and trained in special schools until the time came for their horrible performances. From the Capuan school a number of gladiators escaped 73. under Spartacus, a Thracian of noble birth, and Crixus a Celt. The fugitives took refuge on Vesuvius, and increased until they numbered more than 40,000 men. They broke into two 72. bands, and Crixus was defeated and killed, but Spartacus overcame every opponent. He tried hard to restrain his followers, and wished them to cross the Alps and return to their homes, but he could not persuade them to submit to discipline or carry on war in a systematic way, and at last he was defeated by Crassus and driven into Bruttium. Thence he again emerged, and had some slight success; but he was at length overthrown 71. in Apulia, and died like a hero. Just at the time when Spartacus was killed, Pompey arrived from Spain with his legions and united with Crassus in a merciless man hunt, in connection with which 6,000 slaves were crucified on the road between Capua and Rome.

About this time piracy was giving great trouble on the Mediterranean. For a long time Rome had grossly neglected her duty as guardian of the seas. She had crushed the other maritime powers and destroyed their fleets, yet would not herself keep up a fleet for the protection of trade. Consequently the Mediterranean swarmed with pirates, and commerce had become almost impossible. For much of the piracy indeed, her policy had been directly responsible. She had broken up many communities, had deprived tens of thousands of the means of livelihood, and had driven the adherents of vanquished causes from Italy. It was not wonderful then if desperate men formed themselves into new organisations and lived as best they could, preying upon wealth wherever they could find it. The head-quarters of the pirates were in Cilicia and Crete, but they had posts all round the Mediterranean and from Asia to Spain no merchantman was safe from their swift vessels. They were united in a confederacy, made treaties with

maritime cities, had their admirals, sailed in squadrons, and did not hesitate to land and attack coast towns. They fought against Sulla, aided Mithridates, and in alliance with Sertorius swept the Western Mediterranean.

Sulla realised the dangers involved in the growth of piracy, and instructed the governors in Asia to equip a fleet against the pirates, but his commands were not obeyed.
78. The Senate sent Publius Servilius to Cilicia, who defeated the pirate fleet and broke up some of their strongholds, but this only drove them to other regions, especially to Crete.
74. Some years later Marcus Antonius received extraordinary powers to deal with the evil; but, after squandering much
71. treasure, he was beaten off Cydonia, and died at Crete. The ill success of this expedition so disgusted the Senate that they refrained for a time from further effort; and the pirates, left victorious, became more audacious than ever.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR.

THE most serious reverse which the oligarchy sustained was in connection with the second Mithridatic war. Since Sulla 84.
had conquered Mithridates that king had been extremely careful not to offend the Romans, and had contented himself with such extension of territory as had not been forbidden to him by treaty. He had, however, reorganised his army and his fleet, and in this work had been helped by Roman exiles who had taken refuge at his court. He was, therefore, in a stronger position than formerly; but he had a wholesome dread of the Roman arm, and did not care to come again within its reach. The Romans were not anxious to meddle in the east if they could help it, but they had not been satisfied with the terms given by Sulla to the king, and had never formally accepted them, so that Mithridates feared they would break the peace when it suited their convenience.

On the other hand, if there was to be war, Mithridates was never likely to have a better chance than now, when Sertorius was fighting so valiantly in Spain against Rome, and when the city was divided against itself. There were many exiles at his court, and as they pressed him to take advantage of the opportunity he at last declared war.

At this time Tigranes, Mithridates' son-in-law, was king in Armenia, and had been pushing conquest on every side. He had founded a new capital, Tigranocerta, and copied the style of the Oriental monarchs of an earlier period. When Mithridates declared war against Rome, he asked Tigranes to help him, but he refused—foreseeing the defeat of his father-in-law, and meaning to profit by it if possible.

74. Mithridates tried to win Western Asia back before the Roman army could arrive, and was at first successful, many of the cities submitting to him. The Romans had appointed Lucullus to the army and Cotta to the fleet, and as the former was delayed, Mithridates blockaded Cotta in Chalcedon and destroyed the fleet. Pending the arrival of the army a few energetic men volunteered against the king, amongst whom was Julius Cæsar, then resident in Rhodes.

73. When Lucullus arrived, Mithridates should have retreated to the interior, but instead he foolishly embarrassed himself by besieging Cyzicus. A splendid defence was made, and, Lucullus coming to the rescue, the Asiatic army, 300,000 strong, was blockaded. They suffered so much from sickness and famine that they lost 200,000 men without fighting a pitched battle; and, but that the Romans were without a fleet, the army would have been annihilated.

72. Mithridates now retired into Pontus, but Lucullus following again defeated him at Cabira, whereupon he fled to Armenia, taking refuge with Tigranes, his son-in-law. Lucullus had been completely successful, and had done all he set out to do; it only remained for him now to pause and organise the territories he had won.

But having conquered Mithridates so easily, Lucullus determined to try conclusions with Tigranes. This was likely to be a harder task, for the army with Lucullus was small, and his soldiers, some of whom were Fimbria's men and had been under arms for sixteen years, were on the point of mutiny. He must have suspected, moreover, that the Senate would not favour so hazardous an enterprise as that which he contemplated.

Notwithstanding all difficulties, however, Lucullus invaded Armenia, and in his first battle overthrew the huge army
69. of Tigranes and captured Tigranocerta. But though thus successful his position was far from secure. Persuaded by his father-in-law, Tigranes persevered in the war and the Asiatics flocked to his standard. The Senate also, objected

strongly when they heard what Lucullus had done and were not mollified by success, whilst the soldiers, having now as much booty as they could carry, were eager to return. Accordingly when he still advanced into Armenia, and pressed towards Artaxata, the capital, his soldiers mutinied and compelled him to retreat. He had therefore to evacuate Armenia, and the forces which he had left behind in Pontus being defeated, he was in great straits. Just at this moment, 67.
moreover, news arrived that he had been superseded and that Fimbria's soldiers had been granted their dismissal, so that his army dispersed and Mithridates and Tigranes recovered all that they had lost. Lucullus had shown himself a brilliant general, and had accomplished great things, but his forces were too small for his ambitious projects. By grasping at too much he lost all, eight years of toil and bloodshed being apparently thrown away.

Ten years had passed since Sulla's death and senatorial government had been upon its trial. Certainly it had done little to merit the confidence of the people. The insurrection under Lepidus had indeed been easily put down, but more because he had not commanded the support of his own party than from any action of the Senate. The war in Spain had lingered so long that Rome had almost lost the province, and had been finished not by fair fighting but by assassination. The insurrection of the slaves under Spartacus had lasted for two years, and Spartacus had defied the Roman armies throughout the length of Italy, and had even threatened to blockade Rome herself. The war against the pirates was a failure, and after eight years the Mithridatic war had ended in a fiasco. So far, therefore, from the Senate displaying the power which had reconciled Rome to its rule in former days, it had only shown pitiable weakness. If now it were assailed it would find few supporters amongst the people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE RISE OF POMPEY.

THE reaction against the Senate and the attack upon the Sullan
77. constitution began immediately after the death of Sulla, and at first took the form of insurrection; but after the defeat of Lepidus violent methods were abandoned, and the agitation proceeded on constitutional lines. The restoration of the power of the tribunes was always a popular cry, but there were other reforms scarcely less pressing. If under the equites the law courts had been badly administered, under the senators matters were worse, justice was sold, extortion was habitual, the provincials were robbed without mercy, the condemnation of senators and their friends could not be obtained, whilst for the masses there was security for neither person nor property. Daring men like Julius Cæsar and Cicero tried to show up the worst cases in the courts, and the exposure had a healthy effect even when convictions could not be obtained; but little real progress was made, for in the main the people were as bad as the Senators, and were easily bought off by the resumption of the corn doles. Neither amongst Senators, people, or agitators was there true patriotism—every man sought his own aggrandisement.

71. This was the state of affairs in Rome when Pompey returned from Spain and helped Crassus to bring the slave war to an end. Pompey was an extremely ambitious man, an aristocrat by birth, but of a family recently ennobled, and somewhat unpopular with the older families. He knew that the Senators would not promote him willingly, and he entirely objected to the rules which Sulla had laid down—binding men to

work patiently through the lower offices before they stood as candidates for the higher. Pompey had already got them to break through these rules by giving him pro-consular command in Spain; and, now that he had returned at the head of a victorious army, he meant to have the consulship without more ado. In spite, therefore, of the fact that he, almost as much as Sulla, had overturned the democracy and set the oligarchy in its place, he made overtures to the democratic party, offering alliance on condition that they granted his terms. Crassus took the same line; and as the two generals commanded between them all the available troops in the country, the Senate had no alternative. Pompey and Crassus were therefore 70.
elected to the consulship, and Sulla's rules having been again defied were now definitely abrogated. The armies still lay outside Rome, and before they were disbanded laws were passed restoring to the tribunes their initiative in legislation, and reconstituting the courts so as to admit both senators and equites. The confiscations carried out by Sulla were not interfered with, nor was the question of proscription reopened, for these were matters which might have proved inconvenient to both Pompey and Crassus. Fortunately also Sulla's arrangements with regard to the criminal law, the best part of his work, remained intact.

As the troops were not at once dispersed, some feared that Pompey meant to seize regal power, but he disbanded his army and retired into private life.

At the time when these events were happening things were going well in the east, where Lucullus had overthrown Mithridates; but afterwards, as we have seen, misfortune overtook the Roman general, and he lost all that he had gained. Piracy also was triumphant, merchantmen dared not venture on the Mediterranean, and grain was at famine prices in Rome. Under these circumstances it was felt that a serious effort must be made; and Gabinius, a tribune, proposed, that Lucullus 67.
should be superseded by Glabrio in the Mithridatic war, and that extraordinary efforts should be made to stamp out piracy.

For the latter task he proposed the appointment of a commander with supreme control over the Mediterranean and its coasts for three years, with power to appoint his subordinates and raise whatever army, fleet, and money he might require. The commander indicated was Pompey, and the proposition meant that for three years he would have practical control of imperial resources. Yet the condition of affairs in Asia and on the Mediterranean demanded immediate remedy ; and notwithstanding opposition both from Senate and equites, the measure passed, and Pompey and Glabrio set out upon their respective tasks.

Pompey amply justified the confidence which had been placed in him—clearing the pirates out of the western part of the Mediterranean in forty days, out of the eastern part in forty-nine, and making the sea safe for merchantmen in three months, so that corn came freely to Rome. The method which he adopted so successfully was creditable to his head and his heart. Instead of waging a war of extermination against the pirates (many of whom were exiles, more sinned against than sinning), and crucifying all he captured, as his predecessors had done, he offered life and freedom to all who laid down their arms. This took the bitterness out of the struggle, and the pirates quickly yielded to superior force.

In the end of his campaign Pompey reached Asia Minor, where he found things still in an unsatisfactory condition ; for Lucullus had lost everything, and Glabrio, who had been sent to succeed him, refused to take over so thankless a task. Pompey had no legal authority to interfere in this matter, but after his success against the pirates, there could be little doubt that the command in Asia would be added to his other powers.
66. Accordingly he waited, and at last Manilius, a tribune, proposed to recall Glabrio and confer the command of the Asiatic war upon Pompey. Cicero supported the proposal, and though by it Pompey's powers, already very wide, were greatly increased, it was the best thing that could be done under the circumstances.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POMPEY'S CONQUEST OF ASIA.

When news came to Pompey that he had received the com- 66.
mand of the Asiatic war he began his preparations; and, being a popular general, soon raised an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men, many of them being old Fimbrian soldiers, who now joined him as volunteers. Having taken over the command from Lucullus, he invaded Pontus, where Mithridates had concentrated his forces. The king adopted Fabian tactics, avoided a pitched battle, and kept retreating. But Pompey by clever strategy got in front of him, and in a night attack annihilated his army. This was the battle of Nicopolis, and after it Mithridates could do no more. He escaped with a few companions, and would have sheltered in Armenia, but Tigranes, hoping to please the Romans, set a price upon his head, and the old king fled northward to the Caucasus. Tigranes was at war with the Parthians and with his own son, so that he was eager for a Roman alliance and at once accepted Pompey's terms, the cession of his conquests and the payment of an indemnity.

Thus in one campaign and with little loss Pompey subdued the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and won back all that Lucullus had lost. The Romans were now supreme as far as the Euphrates, and there was no organised army in the field daring to dispute their power. For a time Pompey pursued Mithridates, but desisted when he fled beyond the Caucasus, and the king took refuge in the Crimea. Here he planned another enterprise against Rome, proposing to march by the northern shores of the Black Sea and thus invade

Italy. But he was neither young nor popular enough to undertake such an expedition with hope of success. His subjects rebelled, the insurrection being headed by his son Pharnaces; he was surrendered by the people of Panticapæum amongst whom he was living, and when he found that death
63. was inevitable he committed suicide.

Before these events transpired Pompey had completed the conquest of Pontus and proceeded southward to set Syria in
65. order. Anarchy prevailed there, for Antiochus Asiaticus, the representative of the Seleucidæ, who had been recognised as king by the Senate, had proved unfit to govern, so Pompey deposed him and turned Syria into a Roman province. The Jews resisted annexation, but as they were divided amongst themselves, Pompey easily subdued them. A remnant fought with desperate courage at Jerusalem, defending for three
63. months the rock upon which the temple stood, but with their annihilation, and the submission of Damascus, the resistance to the Romans in Syria came to an end.

Pompey had now vanquished the east, and Rome reigned supreme. Four new provinces were added to the empire: Cilicia, an old province, but greatly enlarged; Bithynia, with Pontus, Syria and Crete. There were many dependent kingdoms and territories with which special treaties were made. Pompey did what he could to encourage the development of urban life in the new provinces. The interior of Asia was deficient in this respect, and Pompey established new towns, encouraged the existing cities by granting fresh privileges, and set many influences to work which were favourable to civilisation.

Amidst so many things admirably done, Pompey made one mistake. Before Pontus and Armenia were subdued, and when the friendship of the Parthians was of consequence to Rome, both Lucullus and Pompey had promised that their territories should be left intact. This promise was not kept, for in the settlement Armenia profited at Parthia's expense, and though the Parthian king dared not oppose Rome at that time, a root

of bitterness had been planted which bore fruit in later years. On the whole, however, Pompey had been successful, and he 62.
was ready to return to Italy. He was now rich, for he had looked well after his own interests, but this was an understood thing in Roman generalship. Rome also had gained financially by his victories, for the tribute which he imposed on the conquered cities and provinces augmented the state revenues by fifty per cent. Judged by the standard of the time, he had served the city well and been faithful to his trust.

CHAPTER XXX.

CICERO, CÆSAR, CATILINA.

LET us now see how affairs were prospering in Rome during the absence of her great general in the east. The Gabinian and Manilian laws had given Pompey greater power than had ever before been given to any Roman, but so far he had used the power well. The overthrow of the Sullan constitution had made the democracy paramount in Rome, and the senators did not struggle against the inevitable, but waited, hoping that the turn of fortune's wheel would some day bring them again to the top. Meanwhile the democratic leaders passed measures for further restraining them and correcting
67. the abuses of government. The bribing of the Senate had been a glaring evil and the "lex Gabinia," which prohibited bankers from lending money at interest to envoys of foreign states, was passed with the view of making this less easy. The right of the Senate to give dispensation from the laws was also restricted, and efforts were made to check corrupt practices at elections.

During this period the chief political leaders in Rome were Cicero and Cæsar.

Cicero was a native of Arpinum, the city where Marius was born, an admirer of Marius, and opposed to Sulla and the oligarchy. He was an admirable pleader in the law courts, and his speeches are still looked upon as models of eloquence and pure Latin. He was a delicate and somewhat timid man, but high-minded and trusted by the moderate men of both parties, being opposed "alike to socialistic schemes and to aristocratic exclusiveness". As a great lawyer he was at-

tached to the constitution and would have desired to see the government neither wholly oligarchic nor democratic, but representative of the whole body of the people. He was not strong enough to carry out his plans, for Rome was almost beyond hope of redemption, but his policy is intelligible enough, and with all his faults Cicero was better than most of those by whom he was surrounded.

Cæsar has been already mentioned several times. He was of patrician descent, but thoroughly in sympathy with the people; and as son-in-law of Cinna and nephew of Marius had special claims upon their regard. Cæsar had ample courage, for he dared Sulla's wrath by refusing to divorce his young 68.
wife, exhibited the bust of Marius at the funeral of his widow, replaced upon the capitol the trophies of Marius' campaign against the Cimbri which had been torn down by command of Sulla, pleaded earnestly for the enfranchisement of the children of the proscribed, and endeavoured to bring to justice those who had helped Sulla in his massacres. These actions endeared him to the people, and he still further commanded their approbation by the splendour of his games, which were on a lavish scale though paid for with borrowed money. He was bent on making himself popular, and on gaining a position, and there was a certain dash and good feeling about what he did that covered many faults.

Cæsar was not a rich man, but he found an ally in Crassus who was immensely rich and whose aims were similar. Cæsar had supported the Manilian law, and was therefore to some extent responsible for the granting of extraordinary powers to Pompey, and like the rest he realised that the future of the state depended greatly on the use which Pompey might make of these powers when he returned. Cæsar also knew how important it was that he should secure his own position before Pompey came back, and he made every effort to gain the friendship of the people.

In the hope of providing a counterpoise to Pompey, Rullus, 63.
a tribune, brought forward an agrarian measure of a com-

prehensive character. He proposed to sell all the domain lands, and, with the money thus obtained, to purchase land for distribution amongst the people. The work was to be entrusted to a commission of ten men, who were to have supreme jurisdiction for five years, and who would be powerful enough to keep Pompey in check. But the measure was unpopular, and it fell to the ground.

There was in Rome a man named Catilina, a patrician, and a zealous supporter of Sulla, who had been a sharer in the crimes which he perpetrated, and was, apart from this, a man of profligate character. Deeply in debt, like so many of the nobles, he had become the leader of a band of vicious men
67. whose chief hope of prosperity lay in upsetting the government. Catilina had been governor of the African province and aimed at the consulship, and for a time Cæsar and Crassus supported him, though they had no sympathy with his conspiracies. Having been twice beaten at the consular elections, Catilina became desperate and determined to retrieve his fortunes by violence. Italy was not prosperous; there were many who were discontented, and he had no difficulty in obtaining supporters, amongst whom were a few leading men. When Catilina stood for the consulship, Cicero had been elected in his stead, and he, becoming aware of what was brewing,
63. denounced Catilina's schemes in the Senate, and received full power to act. For the moment he did nothing, but a month later he again denounced Catilina, who thereupon fled from Rome to Fæsulæ to head the insurrection. Cicero had become acquainted with the names of other conspirators, and they were arrested and executed without proper trial. It is to the credit of Cæsar that he violently opposed this illegal course, even after the Senate had declared in its favour. The execution of these men put an end to the conspiracy in Rome
62. itself; and Catilina, with such followers as remained faithful to him, was surrounded by the Roman armies and, fighting with desperate courage, perished.

This conspiracy did Cæsar and the other leading democrats no good. They had supported Catilina for the consulship and

some believed them implicated in the conspiracy, but this is improbable, for they had nothing to gain by the scheme; and when we remember how carefully Cæsar had held himself 78.
aloof from Lepidus it is unlikely that he would have been led away by Catilina. The democrats were, however, discredited by the conspiracy, and Cæsar's life was threatened, so that for a while he kept away from the Senate-house. But the arbitrary and illegal action of Cicero in executing the conspirators without trial, though approved by the people at the time, was seen by them in their calmer moments to have been a mistake, and caused a reaction in favour of the democrats; so that Cæsar who was amiable and pleasant in his manners was soon as popular as ever with the people.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.

62. POMPEY was now expected back from Asia. He had been very successful, he was at the head of a devoted army, and the political future of Rome depended upon his attitude. It was little wonder, therefore, if the Romans, remembering how Sulla had behaved when he returned from Asia, were apprehensive concerning Pompey.

A year before he had sent an officer, Metellus Nepos, to Rome, to act in his interests. Metellus had been elected tribune, and tried to arrange that Pompey should have the consulship for the next year. Some thought that Pompey was thus aiming at combining civil and military power in his own person, but there was no reason for putting such an interpretation upon his actions. The position of consul would enable him more easily to superintend the distribution of land to his soldiers, and to obtain the ratification of all that he had done in the east.

The Senate was led at this time by Cato, a descendant of the more famous man of that name, but pedantic and often unwise. Guided by him they gave no quarter to the proposals of Metellus; and when Cæsar, who was prætor, supported them both, he and Metellus were suspended from office. The latter returned to the camp of Pompey in disgust, but Cæsar remained in Rome and defied the Senate.

The action of the Senate was fortunate for the democracy. Though Pompey had been promoted to his present position by the latter, there was much to incline him towards the more aristocratic section of the population, and had they played their cards well they might have won his support. They had

now alienated him, and further events drew him still more towards the popular side.

Pompey landed at Brindisi surrounded by his soldiers, but 61.
instead of marching on Rome as most people expected and many desired, he disbanded his army, and reached Rome with a small escort. In this he acted as a good citizen, and there is no reason for attributing his action to other than high motives.

Arrived in Rome, Pompey did not make any exorbitant demands. He had done the city magnificent service, he merely asked that his actions in Asia should be legally ratified, and that his promises to his soldiers that they should receive lands as compensation for their services should be fulfilled. Yet moderate though these demands were, the Senate declined to grant them. Lucullus, from whom Pompey had taken over command in Asia, one of the most influential senators, proposed that Pompey's actions in Asia should be considered not as a whole but one by one. There would have been danger in refusing the lands to the soldiers, so this demand was passed, but no steps were taken to carry it into effect. Deeply chagrined, Pompey turned to the democracy, but Cæsar was in Spain, and the other democratic leaders feared to help him. His position was therefore most mortifying, for he seemed to have lost all influence and to have no party in his favour. This was the state of affairs when Cæsar returned from Spain. He had 60.
been sent there as proprætor, and had come back with military renown, and with a heavy purse, which was of some consequence, seeing that when he was on the eve of departure for Spain his creditors had threatened to arrest him for debt.

When Cæsar perceived how Pompey had been humiliated, he saw his opportunity, and proposed that a coalition should be formed between Pompey, Crassus and himself in furtherance of their respective aims. For the moment this meant that Cæsar was to get the consulship, Pompey his demands, and Crassus privileges on behalf of the capitalists whom he represented.

The combination of forces was irresistible. Cæsar was popular 59.
with the democracy and was elected to the consulship without

difficulty, and for the moment the government of the Roman empire was in the hands of these three men, or more strictly speaking in the hands of two of them, Cæsar and Pompey.

As consul, Cæsar at once introduced his proposals to the Senate. These were, the division of lands to Pompey's soldiers, and poor citizens; the ratification of his acts in Asia; and a measure for the relief of tax farmers, instigated probably by Crassus. When the Senate rejected these measures in their usual high-handed way, Cæsar withdrew them and brought them before the burgesses, who passed them at once and appointed Pompey to superintend the distribution of land—the matter which interested him most.

Amongst the Senators who had made themselves specially obnoxious were Cato and Cicero, and it seemed desirable to remove them for a time, so this was done without violence. Cato was appointed to proceed to Cyprus and reorganise its affairs, and a bill was brought in to inflict banishment on any one who had executed a citizen without trial. No names were mentioned in the bill, but Cicero remembered what he had done at the time of the Catiline conspiracy and went away. Thus, without bloodshed, and in a perfectly legal way Cæsar had gained his point, had acted loyally towards his colleagues, and earned the gratitude of Pompey. So friendly were the two leaders at this time that Pompey married the only daughter of Cæsar. She was his third wife and he was twice her age, but they lived happily together.

It was now permissible for Cæsar to look after his own interests. He was ambitious, and his success in Spain entitled him to a governorship. The Senate proposed to put him off with a province where he would require no army, but this did not meet his views, so he was appointed to the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul for five years, the province of Narbo or Transalpine Gaul being afterwards added. This position suited him well, giving him control of a large army and at the same time enabling him to keep in touch with Rome. Accordingly he departed to his governorship, whilst Pompey remained to carry out the distributions of land and rule the capital.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CÆSAR IN GAUL.

THE part of Europe now called France was in the time of Cæsar called Gaul, and was well peopled with tribes of the Celtic race. Their occupation was mainly pastoral and agricultural—they were famous horse-breeders, they lived mostly in open villages, but had a few walled towns, and in their best buildings used timber and stone interwoven in the manner still admired in some of our cities.

The Greek city of Marseilles had been founded for a long time, and was so prosperous that its merchants did a considerable trade with Gaul before the Romans became interested in the country. The Gauls brought Cornish tin to Marseilles, carrying it across Gaul by the rivers which almost unite the Atlantic and the Mediterranean; they had also iron mines, and were skilled metal workers. Their religion, which was Druidical, constituted a common bond, but politically they were weak, for they lacked centralisation; and though they were willing to help each other, and could gather in large numbers at a crisis, their union was of a loose character and they scattered at the first reverse.

Of late the Romans had been settling as colonists amongst the Gauls on a large scale. The country was fertile, the openings for speculation numerous, and Roman immigrants flowed in until the commerce of Gaul fell largely into their hands, and Roman farmers, contractors and cattle-dealers were to be found on all sides. This has to be remembered when we deal with Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, which has been often represented as a conquest undertaken primarily from am-

bitious motives. No doubt Cæsar saw his way to furthering his own interests in his conquests, but he does not seem to have had more personal ambition than other men, and most of his proceedings in the province of Gaul can be viewed from a broader standpoint.

The northern part of the Italian peninsula was now prosperous and well-peopled. It abounded in settlements—Parma, Cremona, Placentia, Florentia and others, many of which are of consequence even in the present day. It was important therefore that the province should be protected, partly for its own sake, but also because through it lay the high road to Spain, by way of Marseilles, with which city
125. Rome was on friendly terms. It was indeed at the request of the Massiliots that Rome first extended her conquests into Transalpine Gaul, and after this interference a military post
122. was established at Aquæ Sextiæ. During the next few years the Allobroges, the Vocontii and other tribes were reduced to submission, and the province of Narbonensis founded, with forts at Tolosa and Aquæ Sextiæ, and a colony at Narbo.

This was the condition of things when the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones took place, of which mention has been already made. For a time this invasion caused great alarm in Rome. The Germans had come in large numbers and consul after consul was defeated, until Rome herself was imperilled. At last Marius and Catulus were sent against the invaders, and
101. crushed them in two battles—at Aquæ Sextiæ and on the Raudine Plain. After this for a good while there was no southward movement of consequence; and although tribal risings took place from time to time, the Romans traded in Gaul freely, so that Cicero declared it to be "crowded with Roman men of business, farmers, graziers, money-lenders and state contractors".

59. Before the time when the governorship of Gaul and Illyricum was assigned to Cæsar, another movement of German tribes had begun, which threatened to assume formidable proportions. It had been in progress for two or three

years, and the Germans were crossing at various points along the Rhine.

The Helvetii who inhabited a part of what we call Switzerland, feeling the pressure of this German immigration, had themselves resolved to emigrate, and exchange the somewhat inhospitable regions where they dwelt for the pleasanter lands of France. When their preparations were complete, they destroyed their homes that they might not be tempted to return, and set out southward, intending to cross the Rhone at Geneva and proceed due west to Aquitania. This was their easiest route, but it entailed passing through a part of the Roman province. Cæsar determined to intercept their march 58.
and when 380,000 of them gathered at Lake Leman, he hurried from Rome with a single legion, broke down the bridge at Geneva and fortified the Roman side of the river. Finding their route obstructed, the Helvetii turned and marched over the passes of the Jura into the territory of the Sequani, a friendly tribe, and thus reached Gaul. They were now outside the Roman province and their faces were turned from Italy, so that Cæsar might have left them alone, but this was not his plan. Hurriedly gathering a sufficient force, he followed by another route, and overtook them at the Saone, where he cut their rearguard to pieces before it could cross the river. He then crossed the Saone, and followed them until they were tempted to offer battle near Bibracte. In this battle they were completely beaten, and the survivors, only a third of those who had gone forth, were disarmed and sent back to Switzerland to defend their frontier against the Germans.

After this battle Cæsar was appealed to by the tribes of Middle Gaul to save them from Ariovistus, a German prince who had come across at their own request to help them against the Ædui, but who, having come, had remained. Cæsar sent envoys to Ariovistus, but his messages were received with defiance, so the Roman army marched against the intruder. The soldiers were by no means willing to attack so formidable

a foe, but Cæsar persuaded them, and a battle was fought near Mülhausen in which the army of Ariovistus was destroyed, only a few men, including the king himself, escaping across the Rhine. These events occurred during Cæsar's first year in Gaul, and they were of high importance, for the line of the Upper and Middle Rhine was now won, and that river became the frontier of the Roman empire.

57. As the Romans showed no intention of leaving the conquered territory, and it became evident that Cæsar meant to subdue the whole of Gaul, the Belgæ, who lay north of the Sequani, and would be the next to be devoured, tried to be beforehand with the Romans, and gathered a force of 300,000 men on their frontier, under the leadership of Galba, the king of one of their tribes. Cæsar hesitated to attack so large a force and stood on the defensive, hoping that the coalition would break up. This soon happened, for the tribes having unsuccessfully attacked Cæsar, became discontented and returned to their homes. When Cæsar followed, most of the cantons yielded at once, but the Nervii made a bold stand for freedom, and a fierce battle was fought on the Sambre. For a time the issue was doubtful, but Cæsar's personal gallantry prevailed and the Nervii were annihilated. The Aduatici held out for a time, and then begged for peace. Cæsar granted it, but afterwards, on a plea of bad faith, sold 50,000 of them into slavery.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CONQUEST OF GAUL.

During his first year in Gaul Cæsar won the Upper and Middle Rhine, and in his second year the Lower Rhine. It remained for him to subdue the coast tribes on the Bay of Biscay, of whom the Veneti were the most important. This involved a naval campaign, and he built a fleet on the Loire. The conquest was not easy, for the Veneti were a stout-hearted maritime people, but by using sharp sickle-like hooks the Romans tore down the rigging of their opponents' vessels, and thus had them completely at their mercy. At length they yielded, and to strike terror into the tribes and discourage further resistance, Cæsar executed their councillors and sold the rest into slavery. 56.

Next year Cæsar heard that two German tribes, the Usipetes and the Tencteri, undeterred by the fate of their predecessors, had crossed the Lower Rhine in large numbers and were in Gaul. When he advanced upon them they expressed their willingness to acknowledge Roman suzerainty, but Cæsar suddenly attacked them and cut them to pieces; and their fate prevented the German tribes from making further attempts to cross the Rhine. 55.

Cæsar, however, thought it might be a good object lesson if he carried the terror of the Roman arms into the enemy's country, and built a pile bridge across the Rhine near Bonn. The tribes fled at his approach, laying waste their territory, but Cæsar had no wish to provoke conflict, and after ravaging the country for eighteen days he recrossed the river and broke down the bridge.

Having shown the Germans how far the Roman arm could stretch, Cæsar determined to teach the inhabitants of the island of Britain a similar lesson. Britain, though originally peopled by non-Celtic tribes, had now many Celtic inhabitants who sympathised with their kinsmen in Gaul, and viewed the rapid advance of the Romans with alarm. Accordingly, partly as a demonstration, partly perhaps out of curiosity, Cæsar crossed from Boulogne with a small fleet and two legions. He found the coast covered with the enemy, but landed near Romney Marsh, and the Britons slowly retreated before him. His force was, however, too small to achieve anything of consequence, his fleet was damaged in a storm, and, when it was repaired, he was glad to return to Gaul, especially as the season was far advanced.

54. During the winter he prepared a fleet of 800 vessels, and next year with five legions and 2,000 cavalry recrossed the channel. He was allowed to land unopposed, but Cassivellaunus followed his movements, devastating the country through which he passed, and preventing his getting supplies. Cæsar crossed the Thames, and is believed to have got as far as St. Albans, but finding the route increasingly difficult, and hearing that his naval camp had been attacked, he thought it prudent to retire. Terms of peace were accordingly arranged with Cassivellaunus. Cæsar returned to the continent, and the islanders refrained from further interference with Roman affairs in Gaul.

When Cæsar returned he went into winter quarters, and for the sake of getting food more easily, divided his legions into six camps. Seeing their enemies thus weakened by isolation, the surrounding tribes determined to attack them one by one. The farthest camp was in the territory of the Eburones, and the legion there was decoyed from the camp and annihilated. The Eburones, now strongly reinforced, attacked the second camp in the canton of the Nervii, but Cæsar brought relief and saved the legion. After this

53. repulse the tribes dispersed for a time, but the state of

affairs was so serious that Cæsar wintered in Gaul and spent the next year in pacifying the country. The Rhine was again crossed, the Eburones hunted down and destroyed, and in the autumn Gaul was apparently again at peace, so that Cæsar ventured to return to his usual winter quarters on the Italian side of the Alps.

Cæsar had now been in Gaul for six years, but he had never lost touch with the affairs of Rome. His winter residence was at Luca, only 200 miles from the capital, and he lived in great state, entertaining such Romans as might visit him, Pompey and Crassus amongst the rest. Affairs in the capital were not in a satisfactory state. Pompey was a weak ruler. On account of serious disturbances the consular elections had been postponed, and that same year, Crassus, who had gone to Syria as governor, had waged war against the Parthians and been destroyed with the greater part of his army. It seemed as if there might be civil war, and Cæsar watched the progress of events with close interest.

The Gauls knew well what was passing in Italy, and saw 52.
that the occasion was favourable for revolt. Cæsar's severity in suppressing the last insurrection had exasperated the tribes, and the revolt was general—the Arverni, who had formerly been friendly to Rome, leading the movement. The insurgent general was Vercingetorix, an Arvernian noble of chivalrous character and high repute. It was hoped that as it was still midwinter and Cæsar was south of the Alps, the insurgents might get between him and his army and destroy it before he could come to its help. But Cæsar heard of the plot, and stealing round the Alps suddenly appeared at the head of his troops. That year he had plenty of hard fighting. Vercingetorix laid waste the territory, destroyed the smaller towns, concentrated his strength upon the defence of the larger, and avoided a pitched battle. After much trouble Cæsar carried Avaricum (Bourges) by storm, but he failed at Gergovia, and was in such danger that his officers counselled retreat. Cæsar, however, made a great effort, and, having combined his forces, attacked

Vercingetorix at Alesia. An obstinate stand was made, and Cæsar had to protect himself by entrenchments against armies attacking both front and rear, but the determination and better discipline of the Romans prevailed and the enemy was routed.

The battle of Alesia settled the fate of Gaul. In order to save his nation as far as possible from punishment, Vercingetorix nobly surrendered himself, and it is sad to think that the hero was imprisoned for five years, led in Cæsar's triumph and beheaded.

51. Very few of the tribes held out after this defeat. Most of them eagerly sought to make terms, and as Cæsar was anxious to have his hands free he accepted their submission. Expeditions were undertaken against those who still resisted, and they were speedily overcome. After eight years Gaul was at length subdued, and so thoroughly, that when soon after, civil war broke out in Italy, the Gauls remained at peace. Cæsar spent some time in organising the districts which he had conquered, and in settling their tribute and relationship to Rome. He tried to Romanise Gaul as far as possible, receiving leading inhabitants into Roman citizenship, and promoting such as were favourable to Roman sovereignty. He did not reduce Gaul to a province in the usual way, but wisely left much local independence to the tribes. After his death Augustus brought Gaul under the regular provincial system.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

POMPEY'S GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY.

During Cæsar's absence in Gaul it was Pompey's duty to see that nothing interfered with the interests of the coalition in the capital, and being thus at headquarters he had an excellent chance of improving his position and making his influence felt. Unfortunately, Pompey, though an excellent general, was a poor politician—able to deal with soldiers with whom his word was law, but not adroit when dealing with fellow-citizens. In any case the capital would have been hard to manage, for it had become a sink of iniquity. Slavery had caused the middle class to disappear, the best of the citizens had gone to live in the provincial cities and colonies, while Rome was thronged by men of all races, a majority of whom were or had been slaves. Any respectable men who remained in the capital eschewed politics, and Rome was ruled by the rabble. Pompey was by his very nature incapable of dealing with men of this sort, and things went from bad to worse. Life was unsafe in the streets; and first, perhaps, for protection, but afterwards from political motives, wealthy men went about with body-guards, composed of gladiators and ruffians of every sort.

Clodius was the greatest offender. He was an aristocrat, and had been used as a tool for a time by the coalition, but when Cæsar's strong hand was removed, Clodius became master, and with organised armed bands ruled the streets. A quarrel broke out between Clodius and Pompey, which developed into so serious a feud that the latter found it necessary to have an armed body-guard, and when the rival bands fought, the men who supported Clodius were usually vic-

torious. Pompey now feared for his own safety and recalled Cicero in the hope that he would check Clodius and bring about a better state of affairs in the city. Cicero there-
57. fore returned, and was so well received that he thought he might yet save Rome by drawing together into one constitutional party the best men of all classes, and he tried to do this but tried in vain.

Pompey's incapacity for the work which he had undertaken injured his reputation both with the Senate and the people, whilst Cæsar's successes added greatly to his prestige, so that Pompey became restless, fearing he would be pushed aside altogether. It happened that at this time corn was at famine prices in Rome, for the government had neglected to follow up the work Pompey had begun in suppressing piracy, which was again causing serious trouble. Pompey, therefore, proposed that he should be entrusted with the care of the corn supply, and have unlimited power with regard to the raising of money and troops. But the Senate was wary, and whilst it gave him control over the corn supply it curtailed his authority in other respects. Pompey was disappointed, but did the work allotted to him well, and then asked that the task of reinstating the Egyptian king, Ptolemy Auletes, might be conferred upon him. This request also was refused, and it became evident that the senators did not intend to give Pompey more military power than they could help. Had their attack upon the coalition ended here it would perhaps have been disregarded by Cæsar, but whilst they snubbed Pompey, they attacked Cæsar also, threatening his recall and the annulment of the laws which he had passed.
56. It was clear therefore that the "triumvirs" must yet make common cause, and they had a conference at Luca, when their partnership was renewed upon a fresh basis, it being agreed that Cæsar should have his command extended for five years, that Pompey should obtain Spain and Crassus Syria, and that the two latter should be consuls for the ensuing year. The conference was attended by many of their supporters, amongst

whom were 200 senators, by whose aid the triumvirs were enabled to carry out their plans.

The new coalition destroyed Cicero's last hope of saving the republic by the formation of a strong constitutional government, so he withdrew from the contest, and accepted office under Pompey. Other members of the Senate continued to oppose the triumvirs, however, and in the courts, and at the elections gave them much trouble. Literature was utilised against them, political pamphlets and poetry were freely used, and to Cæsar's effort to repel these attacks we owe his commentary on the Gallic war, in which he sets forth with ability and modesty the importance of the military operations in which he was engaged.

Feeling ran strong between the parties, and few elections took place without rioting. Once more the state of the city became a public scandal. Clodius, who, under pressure from Cæsar, had been peaceable for a time, again became violent, and was rivalled in ruffianism by Milo, who stood for the 52.
consulship and had the support of Cato and the party of opposition. By chance these men, accompanied by their retainers, met on the Appian Way, and when a fight ensued Clodius was killed. This led to fresh rioting, the Senate-house was burned, and the residence of Milo besieged. The election of Milo was now out of the question; and having first refused to accept dictatorship from the mob, Pompey was elected "sole consul" by the Senate.

Pompey was now supreme, and he used his power honourably in the interests of peace and good government. A commission was appointed to inquire into the murder of Clodius, an effort was made to amend the procedure of the law courts, laws were passed for the better conduct of elections, and new rules laid down with regard to governorships. Pompey's own governorship of Spain was extended for five years, and he obtained what troops he required, but left the actual superintendence of the province to his lieutenants, remaining himself in Rome to maintain order.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE COALITION.

The conference at Luca had agreed that Cæsar and Pompey should obtain prolongation of their governorships in Gaul and Spain, whilst Crassus became governor of Syria.

There had been trouble on the Syrian frontier ever since Pompey had broken his promise to the Parthian king, and shown Armenia undue favour at his expense. King Phraates had a wholesome dread of the Romans and refrained from war, but his son Orodes made war on Armenia, and Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, went to the help of that state. No sooner had he crossed the Euphrates, however, than he received instructions to restore Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt,
55. to his throne, and had in consequence to postpone the Parthian war. When he had fulfilled his task in Egypt he returned, and was on the point of resuming operations against the Parthians, when Crassus arrived and took over the governorship.

Crassus, though sixty years of age, burned to distinguish himself as a conqueror, and longed to carry the arms of
54. Rome farther than Pompey had attempted, for whilst the latter had paused just beyond the Euphrates, Crassus desired to go as far as India. He therefore made careful preparations, and obtained funds for his expedition by spoiling the temples at Hierapolis and Jerusalem.

In proceeding towards Parthia Crassus had a choice of routes, the desert route being the shorter whilst the other by way of Armenia was circuitous but safe, for Roman armies were weak in cavalry and better able to resist attack in a

broken country than on a sandy plain. The king of Armenia earnestly advocated the longer route ; but Abgarus, an Arab sheikh who ruled that part of the desert, assured Crassus of his fidelity, and promised to see the army safely across. The adoption of the desert route was fatal to the Romans. The soldiers knew nothing of desert warfare ; they could not protect themselves by entrenchments in the sand, and the march under the broiling sun wearied them beyond measure. On the other hand, the Parthians were sons of the desert. Their whole army consisted of horse and camel cavalry, which advanced and retreated at will, rarely coming to close quarters, but sending clouds of arrows from short range with unerring aim. Against such soldiers the mountains of Armenia would have formed a perfect protection ; in the desert plains of Mesopotamia the Romans marched to certain death.

As the army advanced towards Carrhæ (the Charran of Scripture) the way became more toilsome, but there was no sign of the enemy. At length some Parthian horsemen appeared, and Abgarus with his troop went in pretended pursuit. He did not return and Crassus pressed on without him. Suddenly clouds of dust were seen, and with the rattling of kettle-drums and flaunting of banners the Parthians were upon them. Notwithstanding the advice of his officers that the legions should deploy, Crassus formed close order to resist cavalry. But this was no ordinary cavalry. They did not come to close quarters, but whirled round discharging arrows, for which the Roman ranks afforded a superb target. In despair Crassus ordered his son, who led the small body of cavalry which the Romans possessed, to charge the enemy at any cost. The Parthians fled before him and the Romans eagerly pursued, but when they were out of sight of the main body the Parthians wheeled about, surrounded their pursuers, and slew them to a man.

When darkness fell, the Romans, leaving their wounded to certain death, fled to Carrhæ. But Carrhæ could not shelter them, and breaking into detachments they made

their way home as best they could. The division under Crassus was sore pressed and he was induced to hold a conference with the Parthian general. On the way to the conference a tumult arose, and he was slain with the officers who accompanied him. Of an army of 40,000, not one-fourth returned—20,000 were slain ; the rest remained as serfs.

Cassius, who had been lieutenant to Crassus, succeeded him, and had much trouble in holding Syria. The Parthians, however, did not invade in force for two years, and the Romans,
51. then commanded by Bibulus, were badly prepared, but the Parthian general, Pacorus, the son of Orodes, came to terms with them in order that he might be free to rebel against his father. The danger of a Parthian invasion therefore passed away, but Rome did not venture to avenge the terrible defeat she had suffered, nor to extend her frontier farther eastward at that time.

The death of Crassus broke one of the links which had bound Cæsar and Pompey together. The year before, Pompey's wife,
53. Cæsar's only daughter, had died, so that there was less to unite the regents than there had been. Apart from this, Pompey's disposition inclined him to the aristocratic party—Cæsar's to the democratic. Pompey was stiff, starched and exclusive ; Cæsar, though of noble descent, was broad in his views and had popular gifts. Hence Pompey drew more and more towards the Senate, and the democrats began to realise that they must look to Cæsar as their leader.

When Pompey got the sole consulship for the reasons mentioned in the previous chapter he evidently contemplated
52. a rupture, for whilst careful to safeguard his own interests he took no pains to look after those of Cæsar. He was the less inclined to remain on good terms with his former colleague, because Gaul was in revolt under Vercingetorix and it seemed as if the conquests Cæsar had made would be lost, in which case his popularity would suffer. For two years, therefore, Cæsar was treated with scant courtesy, and his demands received little attention. His command expired in March of 49 B.C., and he hoped to be elected as consul for the succeeding

year, but between the command and the consulship there would be an interval of some months during which he would be a private citizen, open to prosecution by any one who might be evil disposed. As the enmity of the Senate was pronounced, Cæsar dared neither trust himself in their hands nor dismiss his soldiers and leave himself defenceless, and accord- 51.
ingly he requested permission to stand as consul without coming to Rome. This was refused, and Cæsar who was perfectly informed concerning all that took place in Rome knew that evil was imagined against him.

The purpose of the Senatorial party became yet more clear when two legions were demanded from Cæsar for the contemplated Parthian war. Cæsar sent the legions, and they were 50.
not despatched to Parthia, but kept at a convenient distance from Rome, to be used against their former master if the need should arise.

After many attempts to come to such an understanding with the Senate as would secure his safety, Cæsar sent a moderate and serious letter in which he pointed out that civil 49.
war must follow if they persisted in the course they were adopting. Some members of the Senate were impressed and would have yielded, but they were overawed by the rest and a peremptory reply was sent, demanding that he should disband his army or be outlawed. The two tribunes, who spoke in his favour, were driven from the Senate-house and fled to him with their supporters, and the Senate gave orders to the magistrates and Pompey "to see that the state took no harm".

Cæsar gathering his soldiers together, told them what had happened, and showed them what gratitude they were receiving from the Senate in return for years of toil and conquest. He had a good case and a sympathetic audience, and when he crossed the Rubicon—the streamlet that lay between his province and Italy—only one or two of his soldiers refused to follow his fortunes.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SENATE.

49. When the necessity of self-preservation led Cæsar to cross the Rubicon and march southward, his circumstances were far from encouraging. His men were loyal to him, but the greater part of them were in France, too far away to be of immediate service, and the legion which he happened to have with him at Ravenna was all he could count upon for the moment. His province was prosperous, well peopled, and ready to stand by him, for he had ruled wisely; but the army and the province were the sum of his resources. Pompey had apparently an overwhelming force at his command. Rome was his, and Southern Italy; Hither and Farther Spain were devoted to him; Sicily and Africa were ruled by his governors, and the East was at his disposal. Moreover Pompey was acting on behalf of the commonwealth, and his actions had the semblance of legality; whilst Cæsar, to outward appearance, was a revolutionary. Thus the great conservative forces of Italy were arrayed on the side of Pompey, and saw in Cæsar and those who surrounded him men banded together to throw the state into confusion.

One thing was perfectly clear, that unless Cæsar could strike quickly his cause was lost. Pompey had already called out the levy, and the men were gathering at various points: if Cæsar waited he would find himself confronted by 60,000 men. For the moment Pompey's available resources were limited, he had three legions which had been raised for the Spanish wars some years before and kept in Italy, and he had the two legions which had been lent by Cæsar for the

Parthian war and then kept in reserve, but the soldiers of these were as likely to desert to Cæsar at the first opportunity as to fight against him.

Pompey and the Senate probably thought that Cæsar would delay operations until the spring, and that they would have time to do things decently and in order, so when they heard that in the month of January he had thrown himself into Italy with one legion and was on his way south they were much disconcerted. Pompey's most reliable legions were at Luceria in Apulia, and as Luceria was about the same distance from Ravenna as Rome, Pompey naturally expected that Cæsar would attack the legions before he ventured to advance upon the capital. As Cæsar marched southward he divided his forces, half going with Mark Antony by way of Arretium, the rest under himself marching towards Apulia. Neither force met with any opposition worthy of the name. The recruits who were gathering in various centres fled at Cæsar's approach; some joined his standard; his army increased every day; and his confidence rose so high that he determined to leave Luceria alone, and march straight on Rome. This bold resolution, his rapid advance, his unvarying success and the popularity he was gaining by his moderation utterly bewildered his opponents and threw them into a panic. The legions borrowed from Cæsar were in Campania, but Pompey knew how little they were to be relied upon, and declared that it was impossible for him to defend Rome with the resources at his disposal. Accordingly there was an exodus of the aristocratic party, consuls, senators and nobles hurrying southward along the Appian Way. All was perplexity and alarm. A rally was made at Teanum and a conference held, at which another letter from Cæsar was read offering terms. He promised to dismiss his army, hand over his province, and become a candidate for the consulship in the ordinary way, if Pompey would disband his troops and go to his province. The infatuated aristocracy would have none of this. Cæsar must dismiss his army, return to his province and leave the rest to them.

Pompey now sent his lieutenant into Picenum with such troops as he had, to call a general levy, and keep Cæsar in check. But the lieutenant finding that Northern Picenum was already lost, fell back on Corfinium, where 15,000 recruits were gathered together. So rapid were the movements of Cæsar that even Corfinium could not be defended, and Pompey ordered the commandant Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus to vacate the city and join him with all his forces at Luceria, where a stand would be made. Ahenobarbus, however, obstinately clung to the city until it was too late, and then when he tried to save himself by flight the troops mutinied and surrendered to Cæsar. After this crushing blow Pompey saw that Italy was untenable. He had 25,000 men, but Cæsar's army had swelled to 40,000 and had the prestige of victory. No course remained but flight. The east was faithful to Pompey, and if he could only reach Macedonia he might soon be in possession of forces with which he could bid defiance to Cæsar. Accordingly it was determined to abandon Italy, and soldiers and refugees gathered at Brindisi. There were not ships enough to take all at once, so 15,000 crossed first, and the rest waited the return of the fleet. Before the second detachment could leave Cæsar was upon them, but Pompey showed much dexterity, and all got safely away. In two months Cæsar had gained the whole of Italy.

Though there can be little doubt that Pompey did the best he could under the circumstances, and had no alternative but to abandon Italy or surrender, the collapse of the Senatorial party was discreditable. That they should have held supreme power for so long a time, and made no preparation for a danger which they recognised as imminent was bad enough. But that, being wholly unprepared, they should have obstinately refused the terms which Cæsar offered, and have gratuitously plunged the country into civil war, was infinitely worse.

Cæsar was now master of the situation, and it remained to be seen how he would act. So far he had been most prudent,

doing everything he could to calm men's fears. He was studiously conciliatory; he preserved strict military discipline amongst the soldiers; no looting was allowed, and non-combatants were protected. Kindness was shown to all. Those who cast in their lot with Cæsar were welcomed; those who preferred to leave were dismissed with courtesy. Ahenobarbus was allowed to depart, and Labienus, Cæsar's favourite lieutenant, had his money and baggage sent after him when he fled to the camp of the enemy. This moderation made a deep impression upon the people, who had dreaded a return to the methods of Marius and Sulla. All this time the Pompeian refugees, maddened by failure, were writing letters to their friends in Italy, breathing out fire and slaughter, and declaring what they would do when they returned to those who had stayed behind. The contrast made waverers think, and men who desired to live peaceful lives, took sides with Cæsar.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE DUEL BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the effect produced by Cæsar's moderation, when he called together such of the Senators as had not emigrated with Pompey, and asked them to grant him the powers which would enable him to carry on the war in a legal way, they refused to comply. He did not waste time in argument. He preferred to work with them, but could do without them, and finding them obstinate, he went on with the war in his own way.

When Pompey first faced the necessity of leaving Italy, he thought of going to Spain, his own province, where he had faithful lieutenants and an excellent army, but the rapidity of Cæsar's advance upset his plans and he fled to Asia instead. Cæsar had now to choose whether he would follow him to Asia,
49. or first subdue Spain, and as his legions were in Gaul he determined on the latter course, and ordered his troops to concentrate on the Rhone. His opponents were not less active—Marseilles declared for Pompey, and the Spanish troops under Afranius and Petreius marched to seize the passes of the Pyrenees. But Cæsar, detaching a force to besiege Marseilles, reached the Pyrenees first, and the Spanish army had to fall back on Ilerda. This was a strong position, and Cæsar was in difficulties for a time, but at last he pressed them so hard that they capitulated. The soldiers were well treated, the Spaniards were disbanded, such of the Italians as chose to join his army were gladly received, the others brought back to the frontier of Italy and allowed to return to their homes. After this reverse the whole of Hither Spain and soon after Farther Spain yielded to

Cæsar, and he could turn his attention elsewhere. Marseilles resisted stoutly for a time, but at length asked for an armistice until Cæsar should arrive from Spain. The armistice was granted but broken by the Massiliots, and it would have gone hardly with them but for the arrival of Cæsar, who accepted their surrender and prevented the legions from taking vengeance on the people for the alleged breach of faith.

Cæsar now returned to Rome, and was appointed dictator but he only remained in the city long enough to hold the elections, at which he and Servilius Isauricus were formally chosen consuls for the ensuing year.

During Cæsar's absence in Spain, Pompey and his company had been laying schemes for starving Rome into surrender. They had a fine fleet and commanded the sea; while Sardinia, Corsica, Spain and Africa, the grain producing countries, were under their control. The pressure was severely felt in Rome, but Cæsar's lieutenants, Valerius and Curio, occupied Sardinia and Sicily, and to some extent relieved the city. The conquest of Africa was a harder task. Curio went there with two legions, and was successful at first, but being afterwards decoyed from his camp, was attacked at a disadvantage, his army annihilated, himself slain.

Meanwhile Pompey had not shown as much energy as might have been expected. His powerful fleet had as yet done nothing to help Marseilles, Sicily or Sardinia. It kept control, however, of the Adriatic, a matter of importance, and blockaded two of Cæsar's legions in the island of Curicta until they surrendered.

Pompey's followers gathered in Macedonia, convened an imitation Senate at Thessalonica called "the three hundred," and conducted themselves in absurdly pretentious fashion. Their feelings against Cæsar were bitterness itself, and the bringing in of his head was talked of as the necessary preliminary to peace negotiations. This rancour was not unnatural, but when they executed without pity such soldiers and officers of Cæsar's army as fell into their hands, and many of them declared their in-

tention of treating without mercy every man of influence in Italy who had not emigrated with them, they alienated the best men in their own party. Cicero, who was in the camp, wrote in doleful terms about affairs, and tried to get Pompey to make peace, whilst Cato did not hesitate to declare that he feared the victory of his party more than their defeat.

Pompey, proceeding in his leisurely way, had now gathered a considerable force and might have invaded Italy, but the men were untrained; and as legions were expected from Syria he did not hurry, but gathered stores at Dyrrhachium in readiness for a campaign in the spring. Cæsar's impatient spirit could not brook such delay, and, determining to follow his enemy
48. rather than wait for him, he concentrated his troops at Brindisi, where he had already gathered such vessels as he could command. They were not numerous enough to carry the army across at once, and Cæsar crossed with six legions, leaving Mark Antony to follow with the remainder. The Pompeians were taken by surprise, and the first detachment landed without opposition, but when the vessels were returning they were attacked with fury by the Pompeian fleet, and afterwards the coast of Italy was so blockaded that Antony found it impossible to follow. Thus Cæsar was for a time in a most dangerous position, but Pompey's movements were so deliberate that Antony managed to evade the enemy's fleet and join his leader on the other side. Cæsar now endeavoured to tempt Pompey to an engagement, but finding this vain, tried the experiment of blockading an army much greater than his own by lines of entrenchment. The experiment did not succeed. Pompey learned of a gap in the fortifications, and used the information so well that he cut Cæsar's army in twain. Had he at this juncture either vigorously followed up the attack or at once invaded Italy it would have gone hard with Cæsar and his fortunes. But he delayed, and Cæsar retreating towards Thessaly had time to reunite his forces. He encamped near Pharsalus with an army consisting of 22,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. Against these Pompey marched with 47,000

infantry and 7,000 cavalry, and having encamped opposite on the slope of Cynoscephalæ offered battle. It was an historic battle-field, for there, a century and a half before, the Romans had routed Philip and laid the foundation of their eastern empire.

Pompey had the fullest confidence in his cavalry, but not being so sure of his infantry determined to keep the latter on the defensive, until the troopers, having scattered Cæsar's handful of horsemen to the winds, should have time to wheel round and attack his infantry in the rear. Cæsar, however, suspecting what Pompey's plan would be, placed 2,000 picked infantry in ambush, and when the exulting cavalry galloped round as arranged, they were suddenly confronted by this unexpected enemy and thrown into confusion. Cæsar had given the men of this corps instructions not to throw their javelins in the usual way but to use them as spears, thrusting them in the faces of the troopers. This unlooked for and novel attack utterly demoralised the cavalry, who turned and fled, seeing which, Cæsar's infantry, immensely encouraged, charged all along the line, the picked corps falling upon the flank of Pompey's army. When Pompey's front ranks wavered Cæsar's soldiers shouted to spare the Romans but to kill the Asiatics, and this completed the demoralisation, for the Roman soldiers opened their lines and let Cæsar's men through upon the Asiatics behind. As for Pompey, when he saw his cavalry gallop from the field, he lost hope, and returned to the camp, into which his army was speedily driven. Nor was it permitted to rest there. The camp was stormed, and when the soldiers fled farther, they were intercepted, 15,000 were slain, and next morning 20,000 laid down their arms.

After Pharsalus, all but desperate men came over to the side of Cæsar. Pompey, hotly pursued, fled first to Lesbos, then to Cilicia and Cyprus. He had some hope of restoring his fortunes by a Parthian alliance and proposed to reach Parthia by way of Antioch, but whilst in Cyprus he heard that Syria also had declared for Cæsar. This closed the way

to Parthia against him, and he determined to go to Egypt, where some of his old soldiers were stationed, hoping that they would befriend him and perhaps help him to renew the struggle.

Ptolemy Auletes, the king of Egypt, had died three years before, and his children, Cleopatra aged sixteen, and Ptolemy aged ten, had succeeded as joint rulers. Quarrels had arisen between the youthful monarchs, and the guardians of the boy king had driven Cleopatra from the kingdom, and when she raised forces and would have invaded Egypt, Ptolemy with the Egyptian army confronted her at Pelusium. This was the state of affairs when Pompey arrived, and, casting anchor, sent asking Ptolemy's permission to land. The young king's advisers were in a dilemma. If they received Pompey they would offend Cæsar, if they drove him away he might join Cleopatra and do much mischief, so they solved the problem by inviting him to land in a small boat, and as he landed they assassinated him. It was a sad ending to a man who was not without some claim to greatness.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR.

When Cæsar reached Alexandria in pursuit of his rival he 48.
heard the sad story of his death. We are told that he was greatly agitated, and can well believe it, for the men had been connected as relatives and friends for many years, and the quarrel between them had not been of Cæsar's seeking. Nor did Cæsar gain much by Pompey's death, seeing that he had left two sons, one of whom was capable of taking his place as leader.

It might have been better had Cæsar not tarried in Egypt now that Pompey was no more, for he was greatly needed in Italy and Africa, but being in Egypt he decided to settle its affairs. He had but 4,000 men with him, but he boldly took up his residence in the palace, began to collect what treasure he could, and ordered Ptolemy and Cleopatra to cease hostilities, and to rule jointly in accordance with their father's will. This they might have done, but the people of Alexandria, an exceedingly turbulent and mixed population, saw no reason why a stranger like Cæsar, supported by a handful of men, should interfere with their affairs, and seize Egyptian treasure. There was an army of occupation in Egypt, nominally Roman, but from its long sojourn, now almost Egyptian, and, certainly, nowise attached to Cæsar and his interests. This army joined the people and they blockaded Cæsar in the palace. He was in great danger, but his courage did not fail him. Having sent orders to Asia for reinforcements, he entrenched himself and just managed to hold his own, one battle being fought for the recovery of the island of Pharos in which he only

saved his life by swimming. Fortunately he had burnt the Egyptian war fleet and his vessels kept command of the roadstead so that he was not completely surrounded. At last a relieving force arrived under Mithridates of Pergamus. It was a motley company, having amongst other contingents one of Jews led by Antipater, whose services were afterwards gratefully remembered by Cæsar. Mithridates led his army cleverly so as to avoid the difficulties of the Delta, and Cæsar
47. having effected a junction with him, attacked the Egyptian army and overthrew it, the young king with many others being drowned in trying to escape.

The Alexandrians now made full submission, and Cæsar was merciful. They had been already severely punished, for many of their public buildings had perished, and in them valuable parchments and papyri. Matters having ended thus happily for Cæsar he left Cleopatra as queen, with three legions to protect her, and hastened to look after his other, and much-neglected duties.

War had broken out in Asia Minor, and Calvinus, Cæsar's lieutenant, had been beaten by Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, who had seized Pontus and was bent upon re-establishing his father's kingdom. Cæsar advanced against Pharnaces without hesitation, defeated him at Zela, and finished the campaign in five days. It was from this place that he sent to Rome the famous despatch "*Veni, Vidi, Vici*".

Cæsar now returned to Rome, and made various necessary arrangements, but he could not rest, for his enemies were not yet fully conquered. Africa had never been wrested from the Pompeians, and all that remained of them had gathered there. Cato governed at Utica, where another imitation Senate had been formed. Metellus Scipio commanded the forces, and Juba, king of Numidia, who had defeated Curio some time before, was in alliance with them. Had Cæsar proceeded to Africa immediately after Pharsalus his task would have been easy, but the moral effect of that victory had passed away and another army had been gathered by his enemies. When

he at length determined on action he ordered the legions which were in Campania to prepare for embarkation. These were composed of men who had seen long service and were entitled to be relieved, whilst their recent inaction in Campania had demoralised them. When therefore orders came to proceed to Africa they mutinied, stoned their officers and marched in a mass to Rome to demand their discharge. Cæsar, hearing of their approach, hastily arranged for the defence of the city, and then issuing forth, suddenly appeared in their midst and asked their will. When they clamoured for discharge he at once granted their request, bidding them go, and telling them that, when he and his faithful soldiers were triumphing, they might return and receive their share of the gifts and lands, though as discharged soldiers they could not share in the triumph. He spoke with great sternness, addressing them not as "comrades" but as "citizens," and the soldiers affected by this, taken aback by his willingness to let them go, ashamed by his generosity in not depriving them of their gifts and lands, and stung by the thought that they would lose the glory of the triumph, broke down and begged him to receive them back into favour. The incident shows, more perhaps than any other with which we are acquainted, the extraordinary influence Cæsar had over his men.

These difficulties disorganised the African expedition, and Cæsar, impatient of delay, crossed with only part of his forces and was for a time in considerable danger. Even when the reinforcements arrived his position was difficult enough, for he was greatly inferior to his enemies in cavalry and the conditions of desert warfare are so peculiar that it was hardly necessary for the Pompeians to do more than decline battle to ensure his eventual discomfiture. Fortunately, however, Scipio determined to make a stand at Thapsus, and began to entrench a position opposite Cæsar's camp. Whilst some of Scipio's men were entrenching, and the rest on guard, Cæsar's men, standing opposite, observed their careless array, and suddenly, without waiting for a

command, ordered the trumpeter to sound the charge and rushed upon the enemy, Cæsar having just time to gallop to the front and lead them. The Pompeians, completely surprised, were overthrown at the first onset, and Cæsar's soldiers, sick of the prolonged war and eager to end the matter, cut them down
46. without mercy. Fifty thousand Pompeians fell, and only about fifty of Cæsar's troops.

The Pompeian cause was now lost, and Cato summoned the Senate in Utica to decide upon their future course. Some were for capitulation, some for flight, Cato arranged for each man as best he could, and then slew himself. Most of the Pompeian leaders had fallen. A few, including Labienus and Sextus Pompeius, escaped to Spain, where they found refuge with Gnæus Pompeius who was already there. Cæsar settled the affairs of Africa, forming Numidia into a province, and made Sallust, the eminent historian, governor. He then returned to Rome, where he enjoyed four triumphs, for victories in Gaul, Egypt, Asia Minor and Africa. For Pharsalus, his greatest victory, he was, in accordance with custom, not allowed to triumph, because it had been won over fellow-citizens in civil war.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CÆSAR IMPERATOR.

Cæsar had now attained the pinnacle of his ambition. In Rome he had no rival, and as master of Rome he was master of the world. To this high position he had climbed by merit. Naturally delicate, in youth careless, with no military experience worthy of the name up to the age of forty, he had suddenly abandoned the follies of youth, become an abstainer from wine, and had so thrown his energies into life, that he was not only the greatest of living Romans but the greatest Roman that ever lived. The opportunity for the development of his latent greatness had come with the command of the Gallic provinces. Reigning in Gaul like a king, thrown entirely on his own resources, that which was in him soon showed itself. As a general it is doubtful if the world has ever seen his equal. No matter how greatly he was handicapped, or how soundly beaten in the beginning, every campaign ended with victory. When other men would have been despairing and calling upon their armour-bearers to slay them, Cæsar was at his best. When the enemy thought him crushed he was most dangerous. Caring little for routine and nothing for tradition, he sought with eagle eye and unerring instinct for the best way of meeting every emergency. Other generals handling large armies have done great things, but "for rapid and daring action," often with extremely inadequate means, and attended by uniform success, Cæsar stands alone.

But Cæsar was far more than a general—he was an orator, an author, and a statesman. Pompey could lead men on the battle-field, but in the council chamber or Senate he was useless, whereas Cæsar was everywhere supreme. To his

absence in Gaul he undoubtedly owed much of his well-balanced mind. Had he remained all his life in Rome he would have achieved nothing of consequence for that city, for in the distraction and corruption of city life he would not have seen what Rome needed. During the years spent in Gaul he realised the pettiness of mere party strife, and saw beneath the surface into the reality of things. He left Rome a party leader, he came back a king of men.

If Cæsar was great, the task he had to accomplish was also great. It would hardly be possible to use language too strong to describe the condition into which Rome had sunk. In her early days she had been famous for the simplicity of her rule. At home her citizens despised luxury and endured hardness; abroad they ruled with unimpeachable integrity, whilst in her armies they fought shoulder to shoulder in defence of hearth and home. The deterioration of the state was attributable to many causes, but of these two stood out prominently. When Rome carried war beyond the region of self-defence and fought for conquest, she took the first step on the downward path; when she enslaved the vanquished she sank more deeply still. The first general who sent conquered tribes as slaves to the Roman market cursed his country with an unspeakable curse. It was not so much the cruelty to the slaves themselves that injured Rome, as the fact that their lavish importation ruined free labour and corrupted the morals of the people. Capitalists used slave labour in country and city more and more widely, until the freemen, driven out of every honest calling, became mendicants, and the substantial middle class, the backbone of a healthy country, ceased to exist. Cæsar's province, the part of Italy lying between the Alps and the Apennines, was well peopled and prosperous, but Etruria and Southern Italy were in a lamentable condition. The best of the people had emigrated, the country towns, once full of life and bustle, were depopulated. Here were plantations and factories, swarms of slaves, and the crack of the overseer's whip —there silence and desolation.

As for Rome itself, it was little better than a den of thieves. Honesty could scarcely be found; crime and unspeakable corruption abounded. For many years it had been the habit to give grain either free or at a nominal price to all who asked for it. Three hundred and twenty thousand persons were thus being fed at state expense, and Rome was a haven of refuge for every idle vagabond in the land.

"Imagine," it has been said "a London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police of Constantinople, with the non-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by politics after the fashion of Paris in 1848; and we shall acquire an approximate idea of the republican glory, the departure of which Cicero and his associates in their sulky letters deplore".

Nor was corruption confined to the lower orders; it permeated all classes of society. Morality was held as contemptible, family life as old-fashioned folly, while under a veneer of politeness and courtesy lay concealed the moral tone of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Cæsar, therefore, aiming at the regeneration of his country had not an easy task. But he did his best. To begin with, he saw to it that there was no reign of terror. He declared his intention of making no difference between Cæsarians and Pompeians, and he kept his word. The outlawed were welcomed back; forfeited property was as far as possible restored; all, except pure banditti, and officers who had broken parole, were pardoned. At Pharsalus, when Pompey's correspondence was found and Cæsar could have incriminated hundreds of citizens, he flung the papers into the fire unread, and this was a sample of his conduct throughout. Of course his generosity was misunderstood, friends were often alienated, enemies were not always reconciled. But Cæsar went on the even tenor of his way, trying to interest all in his administration, and to utilise the best talent he could find for the regeneration of the state.

CHAPTER XL.

THE GREATEST ROMAN OF THEM ALL.

Cæsar worked incessantly at reform. He improved the economic condition of the city by halving the corn doles and changing them as far as possible into genuine relief of the poor, by employing men on public works, and by sending 80,000 of the able-bodied to transmarine colonies. He broke up the semi-political clubs which had been a source of so much evil; he greatly improved the police organisation and the administration of justice. He also set on foot projects for draining the Pomptine marshes, for diverting the Tiber, and for improving the harbour at Ostia.

The condition of the Roman provinces was very bad. Administrators and tax collectors had been bound by no law. The Roman oligarchy, like a band of robbers, had sent the most clever out to plunder, whilst the spoil was shared by all. Taxation, military requisitions, and the quartering of troops so crushed industry in the provinces that it was scarcely worth while to cultivate the soil. From king to peasant, all were alike bankrupt, and unspeakable misery brooded over the nations. Cæsar endeavoured to change this as far as possible. He fixed the contributions of the communities of the subject provinces at a reasonable figure, and permitted them to collect the taxes in the way that best suited themselves. Special imperial officials were set aside for the collection of taxes, and the duties of the governors of the provinces were confined to justice and administration.

In the country districts of Italy Cæsar endeavoured to divide the land more equitably without unduly disturbing

existing owners and occupiers. He sent reinforcements of inhabitants to the decaying towns, and compelled owners of estates to employ a certain proportion of free labour.

The Roman magistrates, who had been the rulers of the state, were relegated to their proper function as officials. The government was concentrated in Cæsar as head of the state, an arrangement adhered to by his successors. The Senate was enlarged to 900, and made more representative—discharged officers of the army, and the sons of freedmen and representatives from the provinces, including nobles from Gaul, being admitted. From this time the Senate occupied a new place in the constitution, never again becoming the paramount authority, but being used as an instrument to advise the head of the state and register his decrees.

Nor was Cæsar's reforming energy confined to the political field. The calendar was hopelessly confused. The length of the year had not been correctly ascertained, and the Pontiffs had made it longer or shorter for political purposes, until the festivals were several months wrong. Cæsar employed Sosigenes, an Alexandrian Greek and astronomer, to superintend the correction of the calendar, thereby conferring a benefit not only upon Rome but upon the civilised world. In order to bring the seasons right, the year then current was 46.
made to consist of 445 days, and subsequent years were fixed at 365¼ days, leap year being introduced. The calculation was not absolutely exact, but it was so nearly right that no readjustment of the calendar took place for sixteen centuries.

Cæsar was interrupted in these beneficent reforms by the breaking out of war in Spain, where Labienus and the sons of Pompey had taken refuge. So serious was the revolt that Cæsar found it necessary to go to Spain in person. He brought the enemy to bay at Munda, a town of Andalusia, 45.
and after one of the most desperate struggles in his experience he gained the victory, 30,000 Pompeians being left upon the field. Labienus died in the battle ; the sons of Pompey escaped.

Gnæus Pompey was slain shortly after; Sextus took refuge in the mountains.

Cæsar returned after a year's absence, received another triumph, and addressed himself once more to the work of reform. Every conceivable honour was heaped upon him, the coinage was stamped with his image, statues of him were erected, and in some places worshipped, the name Imperator was given to him, not with the former meaning of victorious general, but in the sense of supreme ruler, a sense which it afterwards retained.

The title of king was offered him repeatedly, but refused. "I am no king," he said, "I am Cæsar".

He ruled Rome for but five and a half years, and during that time was only able in the intervals of seven campaigns, to spend in all fifteen months in the capital, yet in these months he almost revolutionised the Roman world. It is probable that he had planned many of the reforms during the years which he had spent in Gaul, but their execution needed incessant toil, and Cæsar toiled ungrudgingly.

It is of the very nature of reform to create enemies, and Cæsar's reforms were so thorough that many were aggrieved. In addition to these unavoidable enemies, there were some amongst the nobles who could not brook his greatness, or understand that he was working out the salvation of the state. Unable to appreciate true nobility of character, they were filled with envy, and saw in this magnificent worker, whom a too indulgent fortune had given to the Roman state, only a common tyrant of the Greek type. Using solicitude for the republic as a pretext, and pretending in the usual
44. Roman fashion that Cæsar was snatching at kingly power, about sixty of these misguided men banded themselves together in a conspiracy and swore to have his life. Of the sixty there was scarcely one who had not been deeply indebted to Cæsar for favours, and many of them had been raised by him to rank and honour. It was arranged to assassinate him on the Ides, that is the 15th of March, in the Senate-house. The plot became

known, and Cæsar was warned not to attend the Senate on that day, but just about the hour of assembly his friend Brutus came to escort him thither. Brutus had fought on Pompey's side at Pharsalus, but had been forgiven by Cæsar, and since the battle had been treated like a son. That very year he had been made praetor, and had even been promised the consulship, yet he had joined the conspiracy against his benefactor. Persuaded by him, Cæsar went to the Senate, and when, on his way, some one sought to warn him of his danger, he brushed him aside. Once inside the Senate-house he was surrounded by the conspirators, and when he sat down, one of them presented a petition, whilst the rest pressed importunately round. Cæsar, now suspecting danger, sprang to his feet, but was set upon and stabbed repeatedly. For a moment he fought the murderers, but when he saw Brutus, to whom he had shown so much affection, advance with uplifted dagger, he piteously cried, "And thou, Brutus!" and resisted no longer.

CHAPTER XLI.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

44. If Cæsar's assassins thought that their deed would be popular they were quickly undeceived. Rushing into the forum they declared that they had slain "the tyrant," but were received with silence and made to feel that the sympathy of the people was with their victim.

The Senate met two days after the murder, and its members, dreading civil war, thought it best to declare an amnesty for the assassins. But the friends of Cæsar were in the ascendant. Lepidus, the master of the horse, lay on the Campus Martius with a legion, whilst Antony took possession of the Imperator's house and papers, and stood forth as his representative. The Senate formally confirmed Cæsar's acts, and Antony, taking advantage of this, made much political capital out of the papers which Cæsar had left behind. Amongst these was his will, in which he named Octavius, his great-nephew, as his heir, and left his gardens across the Tiber to the Roman people, and a gift of money to each citizen.

Antony was appointed to deliver the customary oration at Cæsar's funeral, and addressed his audience in such fashion that they could not contain their indignation against the murderers and ran to set fire to their houses. For the moment the crowd was beaten off, but the conspirators deemed it prudent to fly from the city, thus leaving Antony master of Rome.

Octavius, the nephew and heir of Cæsar, was eighteen years of age, and had been training in the camp at Apollonia, waiting to accompany his relative to the proposed Parthian war

Hearing of his death he at once returned to Rome, and claimed the inheritance. Antony opposed him, but he persisted, and when he could not obtain possession of Cæsar's fortune wherewith to pay the legacies left to the citizens, he disbursed his own. In this way, and by assuming the name of Cæsar, he became extremely popular, so that the state was now divided into three factions, the adherents of Antony, of Octavius, and of the conspirators.

At this time Cicero was a power in the Senate. Though not one of the conspirators, he condoned their crime, and had taken up a position of intense hostility to Antony, attacking him in a series of orations known as the Philippics. Cicero was an estimable man, sincerely anxious to reform the constitution, and prevent Rome from falling under autocratic power, but the circumstances of the time were against him, for only autocratic power could save the state.

Antony soon saw that, if he was to keep his position, he must have an army at command, and having persuaded the Senate to give him the province of Cisalpine Gaul he set out thither. His absence gave Cicero and Octavius their opportunity, and they used it so well that the Senate declared war 43.
against Antony, and sent the consuls, with Octavius, to attack him. Antony was defeated, but both consuls were slain. Octavius now expected the consulship and the supreme command, but this did not suit either the Senate or Cicero, who were as little inclined to let Octavius become master of the state as Antony. They therefore endeavoured to pass him over, but he had won the hearts of the soldiers, and, returning to Rome, he forced the Senate to elect him. Thus he gained his point, but a breach had been made, and he felt that he had now little to expect from the Senatorial party.

After his defeat Antony fell back upon Transalpine Gaul, and having joined forces with Lepidus advanced with seventeen legions. Octavius marched against them, but a conference was held at Bononia by the leaders, which ended in a determination to divide the Roman world between them. The

coalition then marched upon Rome, where the alarmed Senators ratified their agreement, appointing them commissioners for "the reorganisation of the state". The three allies inaugurated this, "the Second Triumvirate" by a proscription after the manner of Sulla, but without his excuse. Three hundred Senators and 2,000 knights were included in the proscription, and amongst these Cicero was one of the first to fall. Some of the proscribed saved their lives by flight; the rest were slain; the property of all was confiscated.

42. After the reign of terror, Antony and Octavius left Lepidus in Italy, and crossed to Greece in pursuit of Brutus and Cassius, who had fled to Asia and were in command of a large army. On hearing that their enemies were approaching, they returned and the rival armies met at Philippi. In the first battle the wing commanded by Brutus was successful, but Cassius was routed, and, believing that Brutus had shared his fate, he slew himself. Twenty days later Brutus, also defeated, threw himself upon his sword, whereupon most of the troops surrendered at discretion.

The triumvirs had now established their power and a fresh division of the empire was made between them, Octavius taking the west and Antony the east, whilst Lepidus had to content himself with Africa.

There still remained one enemy to be reckoned with, Sextus Pompeius, who had received command of the fleet on the death of Cæsar. After the battle of Philippi the ships which Brutus commanded, and such soldiers as dared not expect quarter, went over to Sextus, who now dominated the Mediterranean and prevented corn vessels from reaching Rome. The condition of the citizens was therefore miserable enough,

41. nor was it bettered when an insurrection was raised against Octavius by Lucius, Antony's brother, and Fulvia his wife. Lucius gained possession of Rome, but was not strong enough to hold it and had to retire to Perusia, a city of Etruria. Here he was closely besieged by Octavius, and at length, reduced by famine, threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. Octavius

received him honourably and pardoned him, after which he returned to Rome.

Octavius was now free to deal with Sextus, and sent Agrippa, an able and devoted officer, to dislodge him from Sicily. The struggle was tedious, but ended in a decisive victory for Agrippa and the flight of Sextus, who died in 36.
the following year.

Whilst Octavius was thus consolidating his power in the west, Antony, in the east, was living a reckless life. At the time when Julius Cæsar was in Egypt, Antony had become acquainted with Cleopatra, and now that he was a conqueror, and in Cæsar's place, he commanded her to meet him at Tarsus, and clear herself of some imputation of infidelity to his cause. Cleopatra came gladly, and so captivated Antony that he accompanied her to Egypt and became her devoted slave. His luxurious life in Alexandria was broken in upon by the news of the civil war which his wife and brother had fomented, nominally on his behalf. After their defeat he sailed to Italy, 40.
and landed at Brindisi. For a time war with Octavius seemed inevitable, but a reconciliation was effected, and Antony's wife Fulvia having died opportunely, he sealed the treaty by marrying Octavia, the sister of his rival.

In the agreement between Antony and Octavius the province of Africa had been reserved for Lepidus, but he considered himself badly used, and after Sextus Pompeius was crushed, 36.
he seized upon Sicily and declared his intention of exacting a fair share of the spoils of government. Octavius, however, crushed the revolt at once, and Lepidus, banished to Circeii, ceased to influence history.

Whilst Antony was living in indolence at Alexandria, the 40.
Parthians had invaded Asia, and overrun Syria, Judæa and Cilicia. When therefore Antony and Octavius became reconciled, it was of the first importance that the former should hasten to Asia to meet this formidable enemy. Antony lingered in Greece, but sent on Ventidius, his lieutenant, who routed the Parthians and drove them across the Euphrates.

38. Somewhat piqued, perhaps, by his lieutenant's success, Antony recalled him, and determined to take the war into his own hands. Accordingly he left Octavia behind at Tarentum and marched eastward, but at Laodicæa he sent for Cleopatra and once more fell into her toils. The Parthian invasion was deferred, and even when Antony did set out, he
36. mismanaged the campaign and was driven back with great loss. Cleopatra hastened to console him, and he returned with her to Egypt.

During the next few years, whilst Octavius was ruling with ability and moderation in Italy and gaining esteem on every hand, Antony seemed to lose no opportunity of alienating both Octavius and the Roman people. He loaded Cleopatra with benefits, freely giving to her and her children such provinces as Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyprus, Palestine and Arabia. A will purporting to be his was published at Rome in which he named her sons as his heirs, and it was declared that Cleopatra herself aimed at being queen in Rome. When, therefore, by divorcing Octavia, Antony exasperated his rival
32. beyond endurance, the Senate deposed him and declared war upon Cleopatra.

At this time Antony had just returned from an expedition to Armenia, and was in Greece with a large force. He was therefore better prepared for war than Octavius, and had he invaded Italy at once, the event might have been doubtful. But he delayed, and Octavius had time to gather his forces.
31. The winter passed, and in the spring Octavius, ready for the fray, crossed with a large army and a powerful fleet.

Antony and Cleopatra had wintered their ships in the Ambraciot Gulf, and Octavius penned them in. Antony's officers advised that he should abandon his fleet and depend upon his land forces, but he declined, and, breaking out with his ships, fought the battle of Actium. Though the ships of Octavius were better manned, those of Antony were more numerous, and the result was still doubtful, when suddenly Cleopatra's galley hoisted sail and made for the open sea

followed by that of Antony. Notwithstanding this desertion the fleet fought well, but was in the end defeated and destroyed, whereupon the men on shore, utterly disheartened, laid down their arms.

When Antony and Cleopatra returned to Egypt they still contemplated defence. Octavius gave them time to prepare, not invading Egypt for twelve months, but when he arrived Antony's men deserted to him, and Antony, giving up the struggle, fell by his own hand. Cleopatra clung to life, and endeavoured to charm Octavius as she had charmed others, but she was no longer young, and he was obdurate. When therefore she found that, notwithstanding some pretence of friendship, he was proposing to carry her to Rome to grace his triumph, she killed herself.

Octavius treated the remains of the unhappy pair with respect, and they were laid side by side in the burial place of the Ptolemies, of which great line Cleopatra was the last royal representative.

Egypt itself was annexed as a Roman province, and lest a rival empire should be built up by its governor, it was treated as a private possession and put under an imperial præfect, who was not to be of Senatorial rank.

CHAPTER XLII.

AUGUSTUS.

29. Having settled the affairs of Egypt, Octavius left that country and wintered in Samos. Next year he returned to Rome and was received with acclamation, triumphing thrice, for Dalmatia, Actium and Egypt. He had brought immense spoil from Egypt, and he distributed it generously amongst soldiers and citizens.

Octavius had been absent from Rome for two years, but had been so well represented by Agrippa and Mæcenas that he found everything in order, and had no difficulty in resuming the task of administration. He was now undisputed master of the Roman world, esteemed by the people, and in command of an army entirely loyal to himself. It rested with him therefore to determine whether he would openly take up an autocratic position, or have respect to the institutions by the agency of which Rome had for so many centuries been governed. Had he decided in favour of the former course few would have dared to blame him, nevertheless he would have lost for his government that prestige which attaches to ancient institutions and makes the task of government more easy. On the other hand, it was clear that there must be a radical change. Popular government, as it had existed in Rome, was a failure, the strong hand was needful, the restoration of the rule of the Roman mob could only bring renewed misgovernment and anarchy.

Fortunately for Rome she had now at the head of her affairs a man who could see what was best for the state. It is impossible to excuse the acts which Octavius sanctioned at

the beginning of the triumvirate, but from the time when he became supreme he proved himself an administrator of the highest capacity, and by his wisdom and clemency obliterated the memory of earlier misdeeds.

Although the authority of Octavius gradually became absolute in Rome, he took care not to offend lovers of republican simplicity. This was the more easy for him as he was naturally unostentatious in disposition and simple in habits. His house was only such as a well-to-do citizen might naturally live in; he did not waste the revenues of the state in personal display; he resented servility, and surrounded himself with well-chosen ministers and friends.

His very first actions showed his desire to utilise existing institutions. The Senate had not always deserved his favour, but he treated it with respect; and though he reduced its numbers, and probably eliminated hostile elements, he left it in possession of its dignity, and his own name headed the Senatorial roll. He ruled indeed as first citizen, not as an autocrat, and this remained a characteristic of Roman emperors. However despotic they may have been, they claimed no divine right. The empire was but a development of the republic with a princeps appointed for life. Nowadays we say "the king never dies," but amongst the Romans it was not so, for when one emperor passed away Imperial rule also ended until the Senate endowed his successor with the imperium.

When order had been completely restored Octavius laid 27.
down the extraordinary powers which had been conferred upon him, but received from the Senate a fresh lease of power for ten years, a lease which was renewed as often as required. Under the new arrangement, Octavius received the title of Augustus, by which we shall hereafter speak of him, and precedence over all other magistrates and officers of state. The provinces were divided into two classes, Imperial and Senatorial, the former being frontier provinces where armies were needed; the latter, peaceful provinces where only civil administration was required. The government of the Imperial

provinces was placed unreservedly in the hands of Augustus, and even in the Senatorial provinces he had a *majus imperium* which enabled him, if necessary, to override the decisions of the proconsuls. He was also commander-in-chief, the soldiers owed allegiance to him, troops were levied in his name, he alone could declare war, make peace, or conclude treaties. The character of the army was indeed completely changed. In early times it had been a militia, and citizens were bound to serve when called upon, without payment. More recently Roman armies had been largely composed of adventurous spirits who followed the leader of their choice for the sake of spoil. Thus there had been at times Roman armies in the field making war upon one another, and this had constituted a grave danger to the state. Augustus changed all this, reducing the size of the army, but making it a permanent force of regulars enlisted for the defence of the empire. Henceforth the soldiers were enlisted in the name of Augustus and received from him wages, gifts and pensions. The legions were chiefly stationed in the frontier provinces, and only as many soldiers kept in Rome as were necessary for a guard.

Augustus was careful to carry the approval of the Senate with him in all that he did, and as the Senators were largely nominated by himself this was not hard. A committee was appointed with whom he took counsel, and he informed the Senate of his intentions and preferred to govern through their decrees rather than by Imperial edict. It came to the same thing in the end, but the method pleased the people, gratified the Senatorial party, who felt that they still occupied a position of dignity, and lifted a certain amount of responsibility from his own shoulders. The Senate was never again what it had been when it carried Rome successfully through the terrible period of the Hannibalic wars, but it served a useful purpose as an advisory body, and remained a valuable intermediary between prince and people.

So entirely did Augustus win the confidence of the Romans, that they showed no inclination to diminish, but rather in-

creased his powers. He held the tribunician power, he was commander of the forces, and supreme in both the Imperial and Senatorial provinces. Later, he became Pontifex Maximus, 12.
and as such the official head of the state religion. Yet he gave the people no offence by undue display of authority. They might still meet in their assemblies and choose consuls and other magistrates, but only his nominees had any chance of election; and as the discussions had no practical bearing on affairs of state, they ceased to interest the people.

When the imperium was conferred upon Augustus the Roman world was in anything but a satisfactory state. There had been many years of civil war and a long period of misgovernment, with robbery and spoliation at home and abroad. Augustus began his reforms by instituting in his own provinces a census of persons and property. On this sound foundation he built up his financial system, abolishing many vexatious charges, substituting taxation upon land and personal property, seeing that the Treasury accounts were kept with care, and preparing an annual budget.

The condition of the provinces was greatly ameliorated. The old practice of choosing governors by lot and sending them abroad for short periods had been productive of much misery, the governor rarely sympathising with, or even understanding the people, and only using his term of office to enrich himself and his party. Augustus appointed the officials in the Imperial provinces; they remained as long as he desired, received fixed salaries, and were responsible to him in all things. With the aid of the census a fair apportionment was made of the burdens of empire, and each district was responsible for the payment of a fixed sum.

The condition of Rome itself had been indescribable. It had a population of over a million and was wretchedly governed, a large percentage of the people being pauperised by the corn bounty. Augustus reduced the bounty, bringing it within the limits of a somewhat extravagant system of poor relief, established a police force and fire brigade, as well as

boards to superintend the distribution of corn, take care of the streets, and keep in good order public buildings, aqueducts, sewers, and other matters of municipal interest. Over these he appointed a præfect, who was responsible to himself, and controlled the city in his absence.

The Italian towns had always been more wholesome than the capital and Augustus did them much service, encouraging public spirit and carrying farther the system of municipal self-government which Julius Cæsar had begun.

Augustus made a brave effort to check the moral depravity which abounded in Rome, and which was sapping the energies of the state. With this laudable object he passed an extensive series of laws—some of which bore his own name, others the names of the magistrates who proposed them.

"Not only marriage, but everything even remotely connected with it—betrothal, divorce, dower, gifts between husband and wife, concubinage, inheritance of legacies," and many other matters, were dealt with. Sumptuary laws were also passed, and an earnest effort made to improve morals in so far as legislation might avail.

Successful though Augustus had been in his early days in the field, he was rather an administrator than a warrior. Some of his wars he carried on in person. He attacked the Cantabri,
27. a warlike Spanish tribe, but did not entirely subdue them. His presence in Asia sufficed to induce the Parthian king
20. Phraates to restore the Roman standards captured at Carrhæ thirty years before. He paid several visits to Gaul, where he spent much time settling the administration of the three provinces into which the territory conquered by Cæsar was now divided.

Up to this time the frontiers of the Roman empire had not been determined with precision. On some sides they were plain enough. On the west the Atlantic was practically the boundary, though some tribes were unconquered: on the south Rome's dominion extended to the African desert, and on the east lay the Parthians, with whom the Romans were

now on friendly terms. But in the north there was difference of opinion as to where the line of frontier should be. Where the Danube flowed it was accepted as the frontier; but farther north the Rhine was by some deemed unsatisfactory, and an attempt was made to extend the Roman dominion to the Elbe. Drusus made several campaigns across the Rhine and during one of these he died. Tiberius succeeded him, and for a time the forward policy seemed likely to succeed. But Rome had stretched out her hand too far. Some years later there was A.D. 9 a great rising in North-West Germany and the Roman army led by Varus was annihilated. Augustus was greatly distressed at the loss of his legions. A German invasion, and even a Roman insurrection were feared, but all passed off quietly, and he determined to make the Rhine the frontier, and advised his successors not to go beyond.

Augustus died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having governed as sole ruler for more than forty years. He had outlived some who were at one time expected to have succeeded him. Though thrice married he had no son, and but one daughter. His choice of a successor had fallen upon Marcellus the son of his sister Octavia, who was married to his daughter Julia, but Marcellus died. Julia then married Agrippa and had two sons who were adopted by Augustus, but also died. He then adopted Tiberius, his stepson, who was recognised as his colleague. He was first invested with the *tribunicia potestas* and a year before the death of Augustus was formally authorised to administer the provinces jointly with him. When therefore Augustus died, Tiberius obtained the full Imperial power A.D. 14 without opposition.

We have now carried the history of Rome over a period of eight centuries. We have seen the hamlet develop into a village, the village into a town, the town into a great city, the city into a mighty empire. We have watched also the process of political development, the patriarchal community, the monarchy, the republic, and now the rule of the one man, autocrat in all but name. The scheme of the present work

renders it impossible to carry the narrative farther here. The Roman empire continued to influence the world, and to be of high importance for centuries. It even extended its boundaries in certain directions before it began to decline, and at last to fall. But the interesting story of its grandeur and decay must be left for another volume.

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